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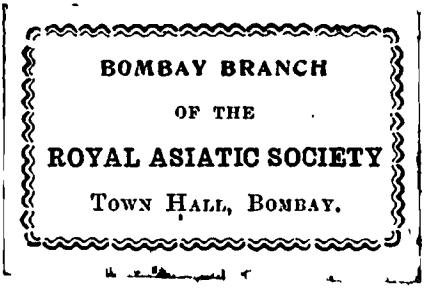

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THE GERMAN WORKING MAN.

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THE

GERMAN WORKING MAN,

HIS INSTITUTIONS FOR SELF-CULTURE,

AND

HIS UNIONS FOR MATERIAL PROGRESS.

1944

WITH FRONTISPIECE.

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BY

JAMES SAMUELSON,

EDITOR OF THE "QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF SCIENCE;"
PRESIDENT OF THE LIVERPOOL OPERATIVE TRADES HALL.

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BOY COURT, LUDGATE HILL, E.C.

TO HIS HONOURED FRIEND

AND

CO-WORKER IN THE DIFFUSION OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE,

SIR WILLIAM FAIRBAIRN, BARONET, C.E., LL.D., F.R.S.

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE, ETC.,

IN RECOGNITION OF MANY FAVOURS

AND MUCH HELP RECEIVED,

THE FOLLOWING PAGES ARE, WITH PERMISSION,

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED BY

THE AUTHOR.

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PREFACE.

THE interest which attaches to the question of legislation for the working classes, and which is likely to increase after the re-assembling of Parliament, renders it unnecessary that I should apologise for offering to my countrymen some details of the life of the artisan abroad. Few or none will doubt the importance of the subject, which it is not easy to exaggerate, and in order that the information may be of permanent value, I have selected for description a few of the combinations of German working men for self-help, education, and art-culture, as well as two co-operative associations for trading purposes. But the object which I had prominently in view, in visiting the institutions described in the following pages, has been to afford to our own operatives such

information concerning them as appeared likely to be of service in the establishment of Trade Institutions of an improved kind in England. For it is to be anticipated that the proposed special legislation for Trades' Unions will raise the self-respect of our artisans, and will induce them to make greater efforts to cultivate and refine their moral and intellectual character and pursuits.

Until recently "working men" were treated as spoiled children—everything in the way of intellectual education being done for, and little by them. They were petted and flattered, and, what was still worse, were used by crafty politicians. Lately, however, they have come in for their fair share of the abuse to which every class has to submit in its turn, and the chief advantage which has accrued to them from the unpleasant process has been the acquisition of a very useful kind of knowledge, that of being able to distinguish between true and false friends. Desiring to be reckoned amongst the former, I have not hesitated to criticise, kindly, I hope, in the following pages, any of their defects and shortcomings which

suggest themselves, whilst the higher life of German working men has been held up as an example worthy of imitation. Indeed, it may be objected that in so doing, I have overlooked the many excellences and virtues with which my long association with the English artisan class has made me well acquainted; but I feel that this is not the place to refer to them. They must be taken for granted, or left to others who make it their business to describe our own intellectual institutions. Of these there are many, and their chief defect is that they are not, strictly speaking, working men's institutes, but are largely managed and supported either by the middle classes or by the State.

As matters of collateral interest, but by no means of less importance, reference will be made in the following pages to the amusements of working men abroad and at home; and although I am quite prepared for a large amount of adverse criticism on the views which I have ventured to express, the question of the introduction of rational entertainment for our English working classes on

Sunday will be found discussed to the best of my ability.

Other social, religious, and political topics will receive a share of attention, and whatever may be the opinions of my readers on the subjects treated, I trust they will give me credit for moderation and for an earnest desire to promote the social improvement of the masses and to bring about a better understanding between "labour" and "capital."

And now, I desire to acquit myself, as far as words enable me to do so, of the obligations which I owe to various friends who have kindly aided me in obtaining the information necessary for the preparation of this little treatise. To LORD STANLEY (now the EARL of DERBY), and through him to the EARL of CLARENDON, I am indebted for introductions to our diplomatic agents abroad. Mr. FENTON, the Secretary of Legation at Munich, I have to thank for the trouble he took in assisting me to obtain access to the Working Men's Union there, and to Mr. WYSS, the President of that Union, I am beholden for much useful information conveyed whilst I was at Munich and after my return home.

Of the kindness of Mr. HOETTE, at Elberfeld, and Mr. SEELOS, at Zurich, I speak in the text, and Professor BŒHMERT, of the latter place, is entitled to my acknowledgments, not only for his valuable introductions to the Institutions which I visited, but for his lucid explanations concerning the condition of the artisan class. Nor would I forget my fellow-townsmen, the Liverpool Societies of Journeymen Tailors, the Bricklayers, the Operative House Carpenters, the Bootmakers, and the Members of the Trades' Association, whose friendly address to their fellow workmen abroad obtained for me a hearty welcome; and, finally, I must express my indebtedness to the International Association, and more especially to Mr. STUMPF, of Mayence, for the aid afforded to me in visiting the Co-operative Associations there.

After acknowledging the aid thus received, without which I could not even have laid before my readers the imperfect information contained in the following pages, I will proceed, at once, with what has been to me a true labour of love.

LIVERPOOL, *October*, 1869.

THE

GERMAN WORKING MAN.

CHAPTER I.

Working Men's Educational Institutions at Elberfeld.

THE General Educational Institute (Allgemeiner Bildungs-Verein). Its Internal Arrangements. The Working Men's Assembly Hall. Lectures and Classes. "Born Orators." The Associated Institutions for Art-Culture. Means employed. The Casino or Merchant's Club compared with the Workmen's Institute. The Life of an Elberfeld Artisan. His Early Education. Working Hours of Adults. Wages in various Trades. Cost of Living. German Beer and the Beer Question generally. Sobriety Abroad and Intemperance in England. Conscription Day at Elberfeld. Working Men's Homes. Taste Displayed. Cost of Clothing.

WITHIN an hour and a half by rail from Cologne, which city may now be reached in fifteen hours from our own Metropolis, is situated the flourishing manufacturing town of Elberfeld, and immediately contiguous to it is Barmen, another thriving town, in both of which great efforts have been made to raise the moral and

intellectual standard of the artisans. In those two towns, reckoning each between 60,000 and 70,000 inhabitants, there are five important institutions having this object in view, namely—

At Elberfeld—(1) The General Improvement Association (Allgemeiner Bildungs-Verein); (2) The Union of Art Industry (Verein für Kunstfleiss); (3) The Society of Art and Manufactures (Gesellschaft für Kunst und Gewerbe).

And at Barmen—(4) The Union of Burghers (Bürger-Verein); and (5) The Union for Art and Manufactures (Verein für Kunst und Gewerbe).

Of these Institutions, Nos. 2 and 3 have been united into one since the commencement of the present year, and it is in contemplation to erect a building in Elberfeld in which all three shall be housed; whilst in Barmen the money has already been raised and the plans prepared for a building to be erected for the two societies there established.

The Institution which I visited, in company with Mr. Hoette, a gentleman of high social and political standing in Elberfeld, who lived many years in England, and now devotes himself almost exclusively to the elevation of his poorer townsmen, was the first-named, the General Improvement Association, which at present has its

quarters in a modest house in a street called the "Kleine Klotzbahn," possessing no external indications of its useful interior.

Differing as this does in many respects from similar institutions in England, and being in some degree the type, although a modest one, of those abroad, we cannot do better than to examine its arrangements for combined amusement and instruction.

As we enter the first apartment, we pass the "buffet" or refreshment counter, where beer and other beverages are sold to members, and, accustomed as we Englishmen are to associate the ideas of beer and intoxication, we are naturally a little taken aback at finding here, as we shall find in every institution of this kind in Germany, facilities freely afforded for indulging in what is with us a terrible vice, practised in beer vaults and gin palaces. But this is the first indication that we are amongst a changed people, with habits other than ours. In Germany, beer does not necessarily mean intoxication any more than tea, or coffee, or any other beverage; and two of the chief sources of attraction in these working men's "Culture Unions" are the glass or tankard of good ale and the pipe of good tobacco, which

luxuries are provided without restriction, and indulged in without excess. Passing on, we observe that, instead of a carpet, an absolutely bare floor, or a covering of coarse yellow sand, as we should find it with us, the floor is strewn with a very fine white sand, which imparts to it a neat appearance, and at the same time renders it suitable for the class of visitors who frequent it. I found this sand used not only in such places as the one we are describing, but in gentlemen's offices and at the entrance of parlours, and on showing a sample to some of my acquaintances amongst the operatives in England, I ascertained that a similar substance, called by them silver sand, is used for glass making at St. Helen's and elsewhere. This may seem a trifling matter to dwell upon, but it is the combination of such little comforts and attention to appearances that constitutes the attraction in this and similar institutions. We are now in a large ante-room, in which there are a number of small tables, and passing through this, we arrive at the Assembly Room, a fine airy hall of much larger dimensions than we should have expected to find in a building of such modest external appearance.

Although extremely plain, this hall is very

cheerful and attractive. At one end stands the rostrum, or lecturer's desk, from which lectures and addresses are delivered by the professors at the higher schools, the principals of factories, and by the working men themselves. The lectures are on subjects of literary, social, and economical interest, as well as on political questions affecting the welfare of the whole nation, but strictly party politics are wisely excluded. Lectures are also delivered on science applied to the arts, but in those matters better instruction is imparted in the School of Industry (Gewerbe Schule) to which reference will be made hereafter. Discussions follow the lectures, and I regret that, owing to the season of the year, I was unable to hear one of those, for I believe it would have added another to the many examples afforded to me of the high intellectual standard of the German artisans. Many of them, I was told by my kind guide, handle their subjects with remarkable tact and intelligence; "Indeed," said he, "they are born orators." During the lectures, beer, coffee, tea, and tobacco are allowed, and in order to enable the members to partake of these with comfort, the hall is supplied, not with rows of uncomfortable benches, as with us, but with a great number

of small oblong tables. These run from one end of the room to the other in rows, and each of them has three chairs on either side, so as to afford convenience for six persons.* The tables are about 6 feet in length by 2 feet 6 inches wide, and the chairs are rush-bottomed, similar to those found in English kitchens. They are very comfortable, and cost at Elberfeld about 1s. 6d. each. When there is a large attendance of members at any of the lectures, and the accommodation at the tables does not suffice, more chairs are brought in and placed between the rows of tables. Ladies are often present at the lectures, and then the working men do not require to be told that they should refrain from smoking, but it is discontinued as a matter of course —*gentlemen* are not always so well bred in Germany.

In front of the raised lecture desk, at the further extremity of the hall, is an oblong table, covered with a neat cloth, at which the committee and officers of the institution sit, and make notes of the proceedings. The other rooms are furnished either with tables or desks, according to the uses for which they are designed, and in one there is accommodation for an excellent library. Everything is, however, framed on the most economical

* The same arrangement is being adopted in the furnishing of the Liverpool Trades' Hall.

principles. Canvas supplies the place of glass panes in the book-case doors, and the umbrella stand consists of an oblong board perforated with parallel rows of holes, and mounted upon four plain legs. These details are mentioned as they may be found useful to working men who are desirous of establishing such institutions at home, on an economical scale.

The amusements of the members are draughts and chess, games of chance being forbidden, but these, as well as the refreshments and other entertainments, are only the means to attain a higher end, namely, the intellectual development of the subscribers. The arrangements for that purpose will be better understood if we leave this institution and turn our attention to the others, of which the objects are also to impart instruction and cultivate a taste for art, more especially as applied to the manufacturing industries for which the town is famous. At the combined associations already named, there are two distinct branches, one called the School of Industry, the other the Drawing School.* In the former, instruction is

* There may be some little inaccuracy in my account of the two associated art institutions, as I did not visit them personally, but for all practical purposes it is correct, as it is taken from their printed regulations, and confirmed by the notes given to me by my friend, who is well acquainted with all their proceedings.

imparted regarding the nature of raw materials employed in weaving, and in the best methods of investigating such materials with a view to test their properties; also in the art and practice of weaving, pattern making, the analysis of the productions of the Jacquard loom, &c.

In the School of Design, models and original drawings are provided, from which the students prepare designs suitable for weavers' patterns; instruction is also given in drawing and painting from nature. Particular attention is paid to the cultivation of taste, and the students are taught the combination of outline and colours, as well as the art of dyeing. In every section the practical is aimed at, and the acquirements of students are brought to bear in the improvement and perfecting of the processes of weaving, printing on cloth, and the other local branches of industry. I was fortunate enough to obtain a striking illustration of this art-culture, which consists of an anniversary card beautifully woven in different coloured silks, the pattern having been designed by Mr. F. Meyer, a former pupil in the Art School. The occasion of its production was the twenty-fifth anniversary of the institution in the year 1863, which makes it therefore a society of thirty-one years standing.

There is, in addition to the Art School for youths and adults, a drawing class for the children of members, into which they are admitted at the age of ten. The subscription to the privileges of the associated institutions is 3s. per annum, in weekly payments.

After visiting the Workmen's Institute, I went to see the "Casino," or gentlemen's club, and could not help being struck with its close approximation to the former, at least so far as the appliances for comfort are concerned. It is true the building is, externally and internally, a handsome one, and by no means comparable to the modest little house in which the artisans meet; the chairs and tables, too, are of a higher order. Instead of classes and other arrangements for the exercise of the intellect, there are the usual newspapers, commercial and political; cards are *not* forbidden, but in other respects the amusements are pretty much the same as those of the artisans, who, to my mind, seemed to have the best of it. This is not, however, peculiar to Elberfeld. In England, too, the Working Mens' Improvement Societies are probably more valuable institutions than the gentlemens' clubs, aud it is to be hoped that if workmens' clubs are established in any number, as no doubt will be the case ere long, they will

not degenerate into mere *rendezvous* for gossip and amusement.

And now let us glance at the life of an Elberfeld artisan, and see in what respect it differs from that of our own working man. As a child he is provided with a much better education than is afforded to children of a similar class in England. Until he is fourteen years of age, the law forbids his employment in a factory, and up to that time he is therefore kept at his preparatory studies. It is hardly necessary to repeat what is well known to every English reader, that such objects as "street arabs," and "gutter-children" are unknown, and no such scandal to civilisation is to be met with, even in the meanest street of this or any other German manufacturing town. In Elberfeld, and indeed in every other town in Germany and Switzerland, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the school house is the finest modern building to be met with, and those who have seen the Polytechnic and Cantonal schools at Zurich will agree with me that, in this respect, we have in England ample opportunity for imitation and improvement. In addition to elementary schools, there is at Elberfeld a first-class mechanics' school of art and science (Gewerbe-Schule)

supported (with the exception of small fees from students) half by the State and half by the municipality, where higher instruction is given in applied art and science, and it is in such institutions as these that the young lad destined for a handicraft receives his early training. As a man, his labours are more onerous, or at least more long-continued, than with us; his wages are lower, but the means of life, and the facilities afforded for its enjoyment, are cheaper and more varied. As a rule he actually works twelve hours daily, first from six o'clock until noon; then from one to seven, and occasionally overtime, for which he receives additional pay. A mason, bricklayer, or other journeyman in the building trade receives a thaler, or about 3s., per day; a journeyman cabinet maker about 2s. 2d. per day; and a master cabinet maker told me very gravely that, owing to the agitation for higher wages, he had recently been obliged to grant an increase; formerly wages were lower. The upholsterers usually work by the piece, and a clever man can earn at the rate of about 3s. 6d. per day. Spinners get 2s. 9d. to 3s.; and weavers, who work by the piece, earn about 3s. if they possess a loom at their own homes, or a trifle less if they work in a factory

where they have to pay loom-hire. These rates of wages will afford some idea of a working man's income at Elberfeld: now as to his expenditure.

This is not so easily ascertained nor understood as the former, for the mode of life differs greatly from ours, but I will select such items as will convey as fair an idea as possible of the cost of living. Formerly meat was a luxury, seldom indulged in; now it is a daily article of food, and costs 6d. per lb.; white bread, which is very fine and resembles cake, is still a luxury, seldom enjoyed by a working man; he eats black or rye bread which is 1d. per lb. What is there considered very good beer is sold at 1d. per quart. It is brewed in various parts of the country, and I confess that it suits my taste better than any of our English ales. It is not equal to Allsopp's or some of the other fine Burton ales as regards strength, but is, in my opinion, infinitely superior to the great bulk of trash for which our working men pay 5d. per quart. I made a point of tasting the best local beer (which is sold to working men at about the same price in most of the towns visited by me) in Prussia, Bavaria, the Tyrol, and Switzerland, and although I cannot boast a palate so highly cultivated as that of the natives, which

distinguishes differences of flavour imperceptible to me, I confess that it was always the most agreeable beverage that could be offered to me, and I am not surprised at the foaming tankard having so often been the text for song and chorus. It is cool, brisk, and sparkling, and a quart of it may be quaffed without leaving the slightest effect upon the brain. The crowds of English tourists, some of whom will pay ridiculous prices for bitter beer and porter, even in the most out-of-the-way locality abroad, have recently led a large Viennese brewer to visit England for the purpose of learning the art of making Burton ale, whilst in Switzerland the visitor may see placards on the wall of the dining saloons, or labels on bottles intimating that "Swiss pale ale" is to be procured. He will, however, find it to be but slightly different from what the vulgar mind in England is accustomed to understand as "Lager Bier." On the other hand, whilst "Viennese" and "Bock" beer are coming into consumption in the clubs and restaurants in England, it is not an unusual thing to find "Lager beer" on the lips of an English workman, as though "coming events were casting their shadows before."

It may be supposed that I am dwelling very

improperly upon this beer question, but it is a far more important one than is usually imagined, for it seems to be one of the chief causes of the comparative, or perhaps it would be only fair to say the complete sobriety of the German labouring population, and I shall show hereafter that it enters largely into the statistics of drunkenness, where that vice prevails abroad. The man who could succeed in introducing and bringing into general consumption in England a mild, brisk, palatable beer, such as is drunk on the Continent, instead of the strong, sweet, flat rubbish which is here consumed, would, I am convinced, do more good in the cause of sobriety than all that has yet been accomplished by the zealous, self-denying advocates of teetotalism, and of repressive legislation. Where the national beverage is beer, I have never found drunkenness to prevail to any great extent amongst the humbler classes. At Elberfeld, as already remarked, is is provided without stint; so also in the Roman Catholic Workmen's Hall at Cologne, where a young priest who showed me the place, seemed surprised when I referred to the danger of permitting its unrestricted use. Even in the royal brewery (Hofbrauerei) at Munich, a gigantic alehouse kept by the crown,

and in my opinion a very disgusting place, although I was told it is a favourite resort of the upper ten thousand—even there I saw no one "the worse for liquor." In Switzerland, where I first saw a drunken working man on my recent tour, it is not beer that does the mischief, but wine, weak as it is, and spirits. At Rapperschwyl, on the lake of Zurich, I was listening to a chorus of men (probably spinners) from one of the neighbouring factory towns, who seemed a little hilarious, and on asking a countryman whether they would not close the day as it would probably wind up in England, I received a negative answer. "They are drinking beer," said my informant, "and if they confine themselves to that, they won't get drunk: it is wine that causes drunkenness here." I do not mean to say that because the Germans possess a mild beverage, therefore they are always temperate in its use, although there is no doubt the working classes do exercise much greater control over themselves, for reasons to be assigned hereafter, than do our artisans; but I feel convinced that the use of such a beverage, which enables men to allay thirst and pass time without addling their brains to the same extent as our XX's and XXX's, keeps them sober abroad,

under conditions which in England would render them unfit for associating with their fellow men.

The question has recently been discussed, as to whether the introduction of beer into working men's institutions would have the effect of withdrawing them from the public house, where it is the interest of the proprietor to let them get drunk (for there is no greater piece of cant than the statement of interested persons, that publicans discountenance intemperance) to a club, where the large majority of sober men would have the effect of restraining the excesses of the minority; but I fear that during the reign of XXX that will be found very difficult of accomplishment. I was recently present at a general meeting of one of our most intelligent Trades' Unions which has long discontinued to hold its meetings in a public house, when the question of introducing beer into a workman's club was being discussed. One member protested strongly against the use, saying, "We know very well that we Englishmen cannot be trusted to go where beer is sold, and drink it in moderation." By his side there sat a living illustration of the truth of his proposition (that is supposing beer to have been the corrupting agent) and there at least any further discussion was

stopped. But the subject is not so easily disposed of; further on, when we come to consider the condition of the Swiss workmen, we shall find one or two striking facts in relation to it, and I repeat my conviction that the use of a mild, brisk, palatable beer would be the best measure of temperance that could be introduced into England.

But, apologising for this long digression, I will now beg my readers to return to Elberfeld. There drunkenness is unknown, excepting on one day—Conscription day. On that occasion the working men consider themselves in duty bound to fuddle until they are drunk "in honour of Fatherland," and it is only to be wondered at that the evil effects should not extend beyond the day. But so it is; on Conscription day the people get drunk *en masse*, the next day they are restored to sobriety. There are other causes tending to counteract the vices concurrent with military conscription, to which we shall refer presently; and my philanthropic friend did not hesitate to tell me on more than one occasion—"Here a drunkard is the exception; with you he is the rule!"

The rent of apartments suitable for a working man and his family at Elberfeld averages about a thaler, or 3s. per week, being his wages of about

a day or a day and a half; this is high as compared with England, but we shall find much worse cases elsewhere. Amongst the weavers there are some (as I have already stated) who work in the sheds or factories of their employers, paying a small sum for the use of their loom, but a large proportion have a loom of their own, and this necessitates increased space at home. The rent of 3s. per week, however, covers that additional accommodation, and although it is hardly fair to institute comparisons upon such hasty visits as I paid to the lodgings of working men abroad, I feel bound to say that I consider the average there, in regard to cleanliness, comfort, and taste, to be considerably higher than it is amongst a similar class of dwellings with us. It is true that there are many working men's homes in England which a gentleman or lady of refined tastes may visit with pleasure, but nowhere abroad have I seen such dens of abomination as some of the lodgings of respectable men earning 25s. a week or more, in our large manufacturing or seaport towns. The cause of such discomfort, where it exists, may in almost every instance be traced to the great besetting sin, drunkenness. In Switzerland, we shall find the nearest approach to the lower order

of dwellings in England, but there the conditions are far less favourable to the workman, for the rent of the meanest dwellings is much higher in proportion to the rate of wages than it is in Britain. In Elberfeld I visited lodgings of two apartments, one being large enough to contain a loom. They may, perhaps, have been a little above the average, but the cleanliness, and above all the great taste displayed in their decoration astonished me. In England, even in tolerably well furnished dwellings, the cabinet maker and upholsterer seem to do everything, the tenant nothing, but there a few flowers, perhaps a wreath or two, a little graceful drapery, one or two ornamental baskets hung against the wall, and a few cords and tassels impart a grace to the humblest lodging, which is hardly to be found even in dwellings of a far higher class here. At Munich, I went home quite unpremeditatedly with a young artisan, who lodged in a single room with a comrade, each occupying a separate bed. I could not help being pleased even with that homely apartment, and pictured to myself the probable appearance of a room so occupied in England. Clothing is naturally very cheap in Elberfeld, and a decent Sunday suit of cloth may be purchased for

7 thalers—a little over £1 sterling. This is, however, quite exceptional, and we shall find that in some towns where the wages are considerably less than half of what is paid here, vestments are as dear as in our own country. As the consideration of the income and expenditure of a working man necessarily leads to various reflections upon his condition at home and abroad, and causes us from time to time to digress, I have appended at the end of this little treatise, a comparative table of the rate of wages and cost of staple articles of food, &c., in different towns visited by me, in order to enable such of my readers as desire to investigate the economy of the subject further, to perceive at a glance under what material conditions the artisan has to cultivate his intelligence, or minister to his enjoyments. To the latter, that is to say, the amusements of the Elberfeld artisan, we will now devote a few pages.

CHAPTER II.

Working Men's Amusements at Elberfeld.

PUBLIC Places of Entertainment. Fusion of Classes. Its Effect upon Morals. The Johannisberg, a Pleasure Garden. Its Attractions. Concerts and Plays. Sunday Amusements, abroad and at Home. Probable Effect of the Introduction of Sunday Entertainments into England. Settlement of Disputes between Masters and Workmen. The Artisan's Court, and its Effect upon Society.

THE amusements of the artisan at Elberfeld (and generally on the whole German Continent) are not confined to drinking beer and smoking pipes in his club or elsewhere. On week days there are concerts and theatrical performances daily, but in these the poor man who labours twelve hours a day has but little time to participate. His chief opportunity for enjoyment is on Sunday afternoon, and then it is that he may be found with his family where there is entertainment provided for him at a nominal cost. Those who have visited the German towns are well aware that in each of them there is at least one considerable

rendezvous for amusement, which is usually situated at some little distance from the town. These are very seldom, as such places are where they exist in England, the resort of the devotees of Bacchus, and of low and disreputable characters of both sexes, but they are truly places of relaxation, where, not unfrequently, all classes mingle in free and unrestrained intercourse. The fusion of the various classes of society in Germany constitutes another powerful agency for the suppression of every form of vice, and especially of drunkenness; and many, I think, will agree with me, that if it existed in England, its influence would be more effective than the temperance movement and all the lectures and sermons which are now fulminated against our great besetting sin. In Germany the artisan keeps sober during the week because he endeavours to save what he can for the entertainment of his family and himself on Sunday; and on Sunday the presence of his family, of his employers or their friends, renders intemperance practically impossible.

At Elberfeld, where the number of artisans is considerable, these agencies are peculiarly active. The shops are closed on Sunday from nine to four to admit of the exercise of religion; but after that hour

shops, &c., are open. At a short distance from the town, elevated upon an eminence, so as to overlook the whole neighbourhood, is the "Johannisberg," a pleasure garden for the working classes and others who like to associate with them.

It covers a considerable area of ground, upon which stands a large pavilion specially constructed for a great variety of entertainments. The latter contains two stories, the upper one being a saloon, at one end of which is a stage, whilst the body of the hall is filled with the usual oblong tables and chairs. Six hundred persons have dined in this hall. The lower storey is also a saloon, having only three walls, and being open on the side abutting on the garden, where the place of the external wall is supplied by a row of pillars. Here, too, are tables and chairs, which afford sitting room to a large number of persons in very rainy weather. At the end of the pavilion (I forget whether it forms part of the pavilion itself) is an open stage facing the garden; so, in unfavourable weather, the audience may remain in the building and witness the performances, whilst on a fine day they can enjoy the open air, and be entertained with plays and concerts. The garden itself is beautifully adapted for its object. It is planted

with long rows of low, stunted, and thickly-foliated chesnuts and lime trees, presenting a beautiful bright green appearance, and serving as so many arbours, beneath each of which a table and chairs are placed. Beyond these trees there is an open space, and when that is reached, the visitor has presented to him a lovely view of the hilly country around, with the pretty town of Elberfeld extending right and left in the valley below. During the week, as well as on Sunday afternoon, there are daily concerts and theatrical performances (the players were rehearsing when I visited the saloon), and judging from the programmes, as my readers may themselves do from the one which is printed on the opposite page, the entertainments are of no mean order.

Sometimes there are fireworks at the "Johannisberg," which, from the commanding site, must afford great pleasure to the poorer inhabitants of the town below, who cannot afford to pay for a nearer view. But who need be debarred from at least occasional visits to this delightful place of amusement? The charge for admission is 3 silver groschen (a little over 2½d.), and only the very poorest inhabitants can be denied participation in its rational entertainments. Of course tea,

JOHANNISBERG.

FRIDAY, APRIL 23, 1869.

TWELFTH SUBSCRIPTION CONCERT
AND
THEATRICAL PERFORMANCE.

Programme.

PART I.

1. Triumphal March	*Hermann.*
2. Jubilee Overture	*Leutner.*
3. Waltz	*Gungl.*
4. Chorus from "Zemire and Azor"	*Spohr.*

PART II.

5. Overture to the "Fairy Lake"	*Auber.*
6. Night and Morning (Fantasia)	*Eisenhauer.*
7. "Taylor" Quadrille	*Parlow.*
8. Finale, "Macbeth"	*Chelard.*

PART III.

9. Overture to the "Bohemian Girl"	*Balfe.*
10. The "Suburban" Waltz	*Lanner.*
11. Selections from the Opera of "Trovatore"	*Verdi.*
12. The "Barrister's Ball" Polka	*Strauss.*

To conclude with

A DOUBLE-BEDDED ROOM.

Burlesque in One Act.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY W. FRIEDRICH.

Isidor	Mr. WIESNER.
Cyprian	Mr. ANDERS.
A Conductor	Mr. STEIN.
A Waiter	Mr. CLAUS.

SCENE—ROOM IN AN HOTEL.

By Order,
KUPPER, *Manager.*

coffee, chocolate, beer, and other refreshments are provided at very moderate prices.

There was a time when even to hint at the introduction of continental customs into our country, and especially that of providing rational enjoyment for the poorer classes on Sunday afternoon, would have caused the writer or speaker to be branded as an infidel, an atheist, and what not; and even those who, when abroad, are the most regular frequenters of such places of entertainment as I have described (not, of course, for the purpose of enjoying themselves, but just to see what a continental Sunday is like!) would have been the loudest in their protestations and denunciations at home. But happily the increased facilities for intercourse between England and the Continent, which have made us better acquainted with the virtues as well as the vices of our neighbours, and the spirit of religious tolerance which admits of the free discussion of all subjects relating to the welfare of the masses without reference to theological prejudices, render it not only possible, but even desirable, that we should consider for a few moments what would be the effect upon our people if Sunday afternoon amusements, modified to suit our national character, and enjoyed under moderate

restrictions, were to become the fashion in England as they are abroad.

That Sunday amusements are not necessarily synonymous with irreligion is quite certain. At Elberfeld there are about 68,000 inhabitants, and when I state that of these at least 4800 artisans, generally the heads of families, certainly attend some place of worship, for the most part the Protestant Church, my readers will perceive that there at least Sunday amusements have not excluded the practice of religion; nay, I will venture to say that no such proportion of church goers will be found to exist in the same rank of society in our English towns. There may be considerably more at Elberfeld, but this estimate was formed from the number of votes which the working classes gave on a religious question at a recent election. Should this evidence, however, be insufficient, it may be added that concurrently with what some people would call sabbath-desecration, there are to be found prayer meetings, revivals, and all the other manifestations of religious fervour. It may, and no doubt will be said by some, that these revivals are probably promoted for the purpose of substituting an English for a German Sunday, but that is not the case, and such a

change would certainly not be for the public advantage in a moral sense. Let us look at the bare facts. In England a considerable proportion of the population goes to church in the morning (some in the evening also) and those same church frequenters spend their afternoon and evening in listless idleness. The higher classes smoke, drink port wine, and sleep—whilst the correct working man takes a country walk in fine weather, or stays at home and reads the newspapers if the weather be unfavourable. If he goes for a walk, he must either confine his ramble within narrow limits (for it may necessitate more than half an hour's walking before he catches sight of a green leaf) or must seek rest and refreshment in the reeking tap-room of some public house, where, it is true, he can procure an unlimited supply of bad beer, ardent spirits, and strong tobacco. Should he be accompanied by his wife and children, who have not been trained to the use of alcohol, he may be fortunate enough to find a little goody-shop open somewhere, and to obtain a few bottles of bad ginger-beer, and some hard biscuits or other less harmless provisions. But a cup of good tea or coffee, along with a nice fresh roll and butter, those are practically forbidden, for they would

necessitate Sunday labour, "Sabbath desecration," I think is the term used, and as to the accompaniment of a band of music, the very mention of such a thing would conjure up visions of fire and the odour of brimstone to the senses of some of our pious countrymen. I heard it said by a sprightly German lady, when the question was under discussion, that in England only sacred dances are allowed to be played on Sunday!

But, so far, I have spoken of the section of society which spends its Sunday correctly. Need anything be said of the masses who render it remunerative to the keepers of spirit vaults, to illuminate our great thoroughfares every Sunday evening with the light of their tap-rooms and bar-parlours? Is it necessary to turn to our criminal records and inquire how many of the men and women who are brought up at our police courts on Monday morning, have been locked up over night for being "drunk and disorderly" on the Sabbath? No one, except those who have walked through the lower parts of a large English town on Sunday afternoon, and have seen the people squatting down before their doors, or reeling in and out of the public houses, can judge of the great want which exists of some place of rational recreation

on the only day which the labouring man can call his own; and it is to be hoped that the time is not far distant when even the ministers of religion, who are unable to attract these people to their places of worship, will use their efforts to direct rather than to interfere with their rational enjoyments on the Sunday.

The working classes of England have the matter in their own hands; if they wish it, the State and the various municipal bodies must open all public places of rational enjoyment on Sunday, and must aid them in procuring that reasonable recreation which is so requisite for the performance of their daily toil. There is not the slightest danger of the English community being unchristianised. Dancing and theatrical performances would never be desired nor tolerated in England. Music is innocent enough, and can only tend to elevate those who listen to it; whilst refreshments are already supplied, but only such as have a tendency to demoralise and to stimulate the worst passions. On the other hand, the opening of suitable places of recreation would bring a larger number of the middle class into contact with the artisan population, and many a man who is now secretly bored at home, but dares

not to say so, for fear of offending his clergyman or his neighbour, would then go forth to witness the happiness of the poorer people, and to set them an example of temperance and good breeding. Nor do I think the cause of religion would lose anything by the change:—

> "Religion never was designed
> To make our pleasures less."

And it must be a very doubtful kind of theology, which need regard with jealousy a movement calculated to elevate the masses, and to bring them into closer relations with art and nature.

Before we close our considerations on the life of a working man at Elberfeld, there is one circumstance worthy of a passing notice, which tends to cement the union between classes, and to free the artisan as well as the employer from great care, namely, the existence of a court for the settlement of trade disputes. The French Courts of Conciliation, or Conseils des Prud'hommes are well known and have recently been introduced in England. In Elberfeld, the court is called the "Gewerbe-Gericht," the "Court of Industry," or "Artisan's Court." If a dispute arises between the wealthiest and most influential manufacturer and one of his humblest labourers, the former

may be cited by the latter before this Court, and he must appear in person to answer the complaint. The cost of the process is 3d. The Chamber of Commerce of Elberfeld and Barmen takes cognisance of these proceedings, and in its report to the Minister of Trade and Manufactures for the year 1868, I find that during that year, 1,405 cases were brought before the Court in question. Of that number 211 were settled by conciliation without arbitration; 801 by arbitration; and 393 by appeal; but of the last-named a considerable number were also subsequently settled by conciliation at the "Haupt-bureau" or Central Chamber.

The effect of such a tribunal upon the life and habits of the artisan is obvious. It not only relieves him from the necessity of holding meetings with his co-workers for the purpose of resisting small or great acts of oppression on the part of his employer, but it brings him into constant and close relations with the latter, so that the grievances, wants, and peculiarities of each class become known to the other, the rough places are made smooth, and the association between them is freed from those asperities which unfortunately characterise the relations between capital and

labour at home. When it comes to a question of competition with the foreigner, the two are united abroad, whilst here the chronic warfare between employer and employed adds another obstacle to the national prosperity.

CHAPTER III.

Kolping's Roman Catholic Journeymen's Institute at Cologne.

A TRADES' UNION under Priestly Rule. Its Quarters and Accommodation. Branches. Rules. The "Festival Box." Advantages Afforded by the Institution. Classes for Instruction. Moral Safeguards. Management. Absolute Authority of the President. Principles of the Union—how Carried into Practice. Its Organ, "The Rhenish People's Journal," Reviewed. Its objectionable Character and Contents. Roman Affairs from a Roman Catholic Point of View. An English "Professor of Mendicancy." The State of Italy Described by a Papist. Evil Effects of Priestly and Clerical Interference with Lay Institutions.

LEAVING Elberfeld we will now proceed to visit a working man's institution at Cologne, which possesses some new characteristics, and presents features of interest beyond the social ones we have been considering—the so-called "Kolping's Catholic Journeymen's Union" ("Kolping's Katholischer Gesellen-Verein"). It is, in fact, an extensive Working Men's Benefit Society, or more strictly speaking, Trades' Union, founded by a

Catholic priest, and is, to a great extent, under priestly rule.

Being a wealthy society, largely supported by the subscriptions and contributions of the middle classes, as well as by the fees of working men, its quarters are far superior to the modest house in which the workmen meet at Elberfeld; and indeed in any of the other towns which I visited. The building is entered by a large archway, and a courtyard has to be traversed before the main portion is reached. Immediately on entering the latter there is a very handsome, indeed I may almost say magnificent, saloon, at the entrance of which is the "buffet" or refreshment counter, whilst the extreme end of the hall is fitted up as an excellent stage. The same arrangement of tables exists as elsewhere, and, as far as I could ascertain, the enjoyments provided are of the usual character—smoking, beer, singing, and other entertainments. The benefits of the institution, which is a home for unemployed workmen, as well as an educational society, are intended chiefly for workmen in the building trade. It numbers about 600 working men subscribers, of whom about eighty reside in the house, and on the average 400 assemble for instruction and amusement. It

appears to be a Trades' Union, minus the organisation for regulating wages, hours of labour, &c., and being, as I have already said, largely under spiritual government, its rules and proceedings are remarkably interesting and significant.

It has branches all over the world, but chiefly in Germany, and unemployed workmen carry the usual Trades' Union tramp book, which is a little book whose title-page is decorated with illustrations and symbols characteristic of the Roman Catholic faith. The subscription to the relief fund (Wander-Kasse—literally wanderer's box) is only 2d. per month, but there are divers and sundry fines for breaches of discipline, &c., which find their way into what is called the "Fest Kasse," or festival box, but which I suspect should be translated "Priest's box;" to this the same monthly subscription is also payable as to the relief fund. This "Fest-Kasse" has a most capacious maw, which seems to be pretty well engaged in swallowing fines.

"Whoever is indebted to the 'Fest-Kasse' for a month's subscription pays a fine of 6 pfennige (about ¼d.); whoever owes for two months, 1 silver groschen (about 1d.); three months, 2½ silver

groschen." After three months, the defaulter may be expelled.

Any member neglecting to attend the burial of a deceased member is fined 2½ silver groschen, which goes to the "Fest-Kasse," and the same if he fails to attend the funeral mass!

I have no doubt, however, that the working men receive full value for their contributions, in social and domestic benefits, which are varied and extensive.

There are classes in which music (sacred and profane singing), reading, writing, arithmetic, geometry and drawing for builders, geography, history, and zoology, are taught. Besides the relief fund for unemployed members, there is a savings' bank and burial society—that is to say, the institution pays the funeral expenses of its deceased members, not exceeding 16 thalers (about £2 8s.) The moral conduct of the members is strictly looked after, too strictly perhaps, to accord with our notions of personal liberty and good faith; for although "espionage is detested and forbidden," yet it is the duty of any member, knowing that one of his comrades has been guilty of an immoral act (especially if he has visited a house of ill-fame) to communicate the fact *secretly* to the president.

Of that functionary, who has almost irresponsible power and authority, we shall speak presently.

There is one excellent rule concerning immorality:—Any member who is convicted of attempting to lead another into immoral ways is summarily dismissed from the society, and the rule was at least framed in earnest; for whilst other offences may lead to the "disqualification" or "dismissal" of members; for this one the offender is "ejected," or "kicked out" (gestossen) and his name is circulated amongst his fellows.

The affairs of the institution are managed by a committee presided over by a president and vice-president, and the powers and duties of the former indicate the nature of the government. Besides the ordinary duties of a chairman, he regulates the character of the instruction, secular and religious, which is to be imparted; decides upon the admissibility of books and newspapers; and exercises wide powers in connection with the engagement and dismissal of teachers, as well as in regard to the admission and expulsion of members. The names of all persons who are desirous of becoming members must first be submitted to him, and he may expel contumacious ones who break the rules. As he is expected to have the

best interests of the institution at heart, so he must watch narrowly the tendency of the instruction given by teachers, and should he consider the doctrines of any particular teacher objectionable, he has the authority to dismiss him forthwith; such exercise of his arbitrary powers must however be *subsequently* communicated to the council. He is, in addition, as we have already seen, the depository of secret accusations made by one member against another. Indeed, the whole system of government is aptly expressed in one of the rules:—

"The council exercises paternal authority over the union, and this power is centred in the president. The remaining members of the committee represent a family council."

The motto of the institution is:—

Religion and Virtue.
Industry and Diligence.
Concord and Love.
Cheerfulness and Joviality.
(Religion und Tugend.
Arbeitsamkeit und Fleiss.
Eintracht und Liebe.
Frohsinn und Scherz.)

and those principles are no doubt conscientiously carried out according to the wishes of the

benevolent founder, Adolph Kolping, for besides the means afforded to promote cheerful enjoyment, the paternal care exercised to cultivate industry and thrift, the safeguards to virtue, punishment of immorality, and exhortations to love and concord, very effective measures are taken to promulgate the Roman Catholic faith. These consist of religious instruction, and the dissemination of Roman Catholic doctrines in a little newspaper published by the institution and called "Rhenish People's Journal, for Home, Family, and Handicraft," (Rheinische Volksblätter für Haus, Familie, und Handwerk; Gegründet von Adolph Kolping.)

Unlike similar organs to which reference will be made hereafter, published by other working men's societies, this one appears to contain nothing that is really useful or interesting to the artisan, either in an educational or industrial sense, whilst it employs the most objectionable means to promulgate its theological and political doctrines. In order, however, to convey to my readers as fair an idea as possible of the real nature of the publication, which has its analogues in some of our most violent denominational organs in England, I propose to review cursorily the number issued

on the 12th of June in the present year, which was given to me by a Roman Catholic gentleman of influence at Cologne, as a type of the general character of the journal and its contents.

It contains, in addition to short religious chronicles and advertisements, three articles: "A Journey to Rome;" "A Professor of Mendicancy;" and "Political Journal." The "Journey to Rome" professes to describe a visit paid by the editor or some other representative of the paper, or of the Institution, to that City. It is published in parts, and this one describes sundry interviews with the Pope.

"So Pius stood before us, and we should not have wearied with gazing at him if the sacred exercise had lasted several hours. After the Holy Communion, he distributed the sacramental food for a long time, probably for twenty minutes. First there approached to the Altar his orphan children from the "Tata Giovanni" Institute, which commenced its priestly ministrations half a century since; then came Princes and Counts, sturdy citizens and soldiers to receive from his hand the bread of life." After concluding his account of this part of the ceremony, the writer describes with eloquence and ecstasy the

sacred song which followed, and which he hears in imagination re-echoed from every quarter of the globe where Roman Catholicism holds complete or partial sway. Then comes a personal interview with his Holiness, which has a peculiar attraction for the readers of the Journal. "After I had respectfully kissed the foot and ring of the Holy Father, I told him of what work we were the representatives—of the work of Adolph Kolping. Then I noticed that he had not even forgotten that man, whom indeed many in Germany either do not, or will not know. He bowed complacently as though he had been reminded of some dear old acquaintance."

Other interviews follow; and one concludes thus: "Now the whole vast assemblage bowed low to receive the blessing of the Holy Father. But then, as at the commencement of the audience, cheers arose through the Hall which seemed as though they would never cease. The Pope was invested with his scarlet silk mantle, and he stepped out upon the balcony close to his throne, in order to show himself to the waiting thousands on the Peter's Place. As soon as he appeared, the storm of applause commenced below yonder: like a great torrent it rolled along with enthusiastic

ecstasy. (This sentence in untranslatable, 'Wie ein mächtiger Waldstrom tobte es in enthusiastischer Begeisterung.') Hats were waved, carriages climbed, thousands of white handkerchiefs fluttered, and an enthusiastic 'Evviva il Sommo Pontificé, Papa-Ré,' burst from perhaps 25,000 throats to greet the parent of Christendom, with the clash of musical instruments intervening. The Holy Father drew himself back, but again and again calls were made for him, long after he had quitted the Hall, touched to his deepest Soul."

"Such a thing can only be heard and seen at Rome. But if thou imaginest, dear reader, that only strangers are so enthusiastic in the Pope's behalf, thou errest indeed! The Romans themselves love him as their father; they crowd around his carriage with applauding cries; they kiss his image, and often enough we noticed, when we spoke to them about the Holy Father, how their eyes brightened with love and childlike affection. One is soon convinced that none of the machinations against the Pope originate with the inhabitants of Rome, who detest and deplore such attempts from the bottom of their hearts, but it is as clear as the noon-day Sun to the visitor (as

indeed it is also the opinion of all intelligent men on this side of the Alps), that a revolution in Rome could only be imported from without."

After having, in this enthusiastic narrative, set forth the paternal solicitude and popularity of the Pope, and depicted in glowing colours the happiness and contentment which reigns in the Eternal City, the editor furnishes a story calculated to impress his readers with the terrible state of mendicancy combined with crime which exists—where do *my* readers think? Not in Rome, but in our own unfortunate Metropolis. This is done in the second article—"A Professor of Mendicancy."

"Theft, mendicancy, cheating, and coin-clipping," he says, "had long been systematically practised in secret in the modern Babel, but up to the present hour no one had ventured to found a chair of mendicancy on the Thames, and openly to announce that so far as it is legal, he is prepared to teach that art, with the aid of the most useful appliances."

The visitor was led to make these reflections on receiving from "A friend in the City," the card of Mr. Roonay, Professor of Mendicancy, 21, Princess Street, St. Giles;" and, notwithstanding his friend's remonstrances, he starts off

forthwith to pay a visit to the "College of Mendicants." Finding the "Professor" at home he informs him that he is anxious to avail himself of his tutorial aid, but the "Professor" scans him sharply and tells him that he does not believe his object to be that of learning to gain an honest livelihood by mendicancy, and that he comes prompted only by a miserable curiosity, which, nevertheless, he proceeds at once to gratify. He bids him accompany him over the "Academy," and shows him all the appliances of his mystic art.

Would that I could narrate my visits to the working men's institutions for self-culture as graphically as the German *litterateur* describes the interior and resources of the University of London Mendicants. There is of course a lecture hall, with the professorial chair, and the former is decorated with a most magnificent series of paintings illustrative of the begging art.

"'That side of the hall embraces all London,'" said Roonay, "and thereupon he pointed his fingers at mendicant London." 'Side by side with it, Ireland is ranged in a not less imposing assemblage,' continued he, moving his finger, with a complacent smile, along the extensive row of surprising illustrations." (Complimentary for

Ireland, but he probably meant Protestant Ireland.)

The visitor then inspects artificial wounds and limbs, and all the other devices which have been so often described in our English periodicals, until he comes to two wonderful dogs one of which has been taught to pull foot passengers by the coat tails, until they comply with his importunate demands; and the other, I must leave the author to describe himself.

"'His neighbour Armstrong sings quite a different song' said Roonay, loosing the chain of a danish bull-dog. On the large box which was strapped upon his shoulders stood the imperious demand, 'Your money or your life.' 'Fear nothing, he will not harm you, if you only empty the contents of your purse into his.' As I did not instantly put my hand into my pocket, the terrible dog rose, at a signal from his master, and pantomimically flew at my throat in the most dangerous manner!"

"'That is no longer mendicancy' I cried out angrily, 'that is modern highway robbery.' Then the contents of my purse were transferred to the exacting one of Armstrong. 'Extremes meet, said Roonay, shrugging his shoulders.'" After

satisfying his curiosity a little further, and being compelled by a new arrival, announced in the most professional manner by an attendant, to draw the interview to a close, the Professor bowed his visitor out, and it was only when he reached the street and hailed a cab that he recollected his empty purse.

"The modern professor of mendicancy and mediæval robber-knight had managed cleverly to rid me of my last penny, and I could not even legally prosecute him. On the contrary, had he sued me, I should have been compelled to pay tutor's fees, and pretty high ones too, for I had received private tuition."

Are the German working men really expected to swallow all this rubbish? It is difficult to say who is most to be admired; the English Professor of Mendicity, or the German Professor of Mendacity, and learned commentator on the theory and practice of our common law!

Then follows the political news, and after a good deal that is interesting only to Catholics, we come to this morsel:—

"Of *Italy* even her best friends must needs despair, for there matters are becoming more threatening from day to day. The Government itself trembles

before the Spirit which it invoked, but is now unable to exorcise. During the nine years of its existence it has employed every possible means to subvert religion and morality in the nation, and it finds itself now face to face with an unbridled mob which respects neither human nor divine authority. The very party leaders of whom, with their followers, it availed itself to compass its ends *now rule with poison and dagger*," &c., &c., &c.

It must not be supposed that, in making these extracts and thus laying bare a rotten spot in what I am sure is in other respects an admirable and beneficient institution, I have been prompted by the smallest desire to create an animus against a denomination for which I entertain high respect; but it has been my desire to convey a correct impression of the Continental Working Men's Unions, and if, here, it has been my duty to pourtray the evil effects of an excess of religious zeal, I shall be obliged further on, to show, in the programme of another institution the absurdities and evils which present themselves where there is an entire absence of all religious sentiment, or even an antagonism to religion, engendered no doubt, on the Continent, by the existence of the opposite extreme.

If, within its precincts, Kolping's Institution

effects much good, I was told that it exercises an injurious political influence abroad, as, indeed, the journal from which I have furnished extracts, and which resembles our own violent religious organs in England, would indicate. I was informed by moderate Roman Catholics themselves that the cause of progress is often impeded at elections, by the "phalanx of voters" brought up from the institution at the bidding of the priests, who, it is affirmed, only allow so much instruction to be imparted, and such political intelligence to be conveyed to the members, as suits their own ends. In a country where newspapers are comparatively scarce, and in an institution where the works admitted are subject to a severe criticism before they are allowed to fall into the hands of its members, this is no difficult task, and I think that my readers, especially those of the operative class, will have no hesitation in concluding with me that the less clerical influence is allowed to find its way into the management of such societies as these, the better chance there will be of its members enjoying liberty of thought and action.

CHAPTER IV.

The Workmen's Educational Union at Munich.*

A BONA-FIDE Mechanic's Institute. Its Advantages and Attractions. The Library. Useful Books for Artisans. Art Culture and an Art Journal for Workmen. Prizes awarded by Working Men to their own Body. Benefit Society. The German Emigration Society. Capital and Labour in Germany. English Competition with Foreign Manufacturers. Audi alteram partem. Educational Efforts and Intellectual Superiority of German Working Men; their Results. Obstacles to Progress at Home. Unionist Mistakes. An Institution well Managed by Artisans. Anniversary Programme and Proceedings. Income and Expenditure of Artisans at Munich compared with those at Elberfeld and in England.

THE Institution or Union of Working Men established at Munich for the purposes of culture and recreation is the one, above all others visited by me, which deserves the attention of our artisan class; indeed, it was the first I had anywhere seen which can with perfect justice be called a Working Men's Institute.

The union or society was established, and is

* Arbeiter Bildungs Verein in München.

entirely supported and managed, by working men, who rent a handsome house in a respectable street in the City at about £60 per annum. There are 285 members, all artisans, watchmakers, turners, men in the building trade, &c., &c., who pay an entrance fee of 6d. and a monthly subscription of 4d. The benefits offered by the Institution are as follows:—A refreshment room similar to those already described, where good beer is sold at 1d. per quart, good tobacco, cigars, &c.; a comfortable billiard room; a gymnasium; singing classes and vocal entertainments. With the exception of the gymnasium, which is out of doors, the foregoing are all held in rooms on one floor, and the arrangements too closely resemble those at Elberfeld to require special notice. In apartments in an upper storey of the building, provision is made for practical and theoretical instruction.

Every day in the week has its occupations, which are varied and interesting. On Monday evening there are classes in calligraphy, and also debates; on Tuesday, singing. The members of the choir were practising when I visited the institution, and they were good enough to sing several glees for me, as, indeed, I was favoured at

other institutions. Those who know how German working men sing together, will not need to be told that their performance was admirable.

But to proceed. On Wednesday, there are exercises in gymnastics, also in stenography and the English language; on Thursday, arithmetic; on Friday, French; on Saturday, there are scientific and political lectures (in the rules, however, political discussions are forbidden); and on Sunday, between one and three o'clock, English! The instruction is chiefly imparted by professional teachers, some, I understood, being connected with the University.

An important feature is the library of about 1500 volumes, which is of the most interesting kind. It contains, of course, the works of general information usually found in such places: Biography, Natural History, Medicine, Classics, Novels, Political and Social Economy, History, Geography, Geometry, Mathematics, Arithmetic, along with Dictionaries, all find a place there. But the books most deserving of notice are those treating of practical art and science, and intended for the use of persons engaged in handicrafts. For example, there is a beautiful work on the Chemistry of Painters' Colours, containing

excellent illustrations of every colour that is manufactured, and intended for the guidance of painters and dyers. Another work bears the startling and imposing title of "Anthropo-Trigonometrie;" but let not my anthropological readers suppose that it has anything to do with the recently introduced system of measuring the various races of men for ethnological purposes. No; it is something far more practical, being a scientific guide for tailors in measuring for new habits.

The union stands in relation with the department of industry (Gewerbe-Verein) for the higher education of artisans, and it takes in an admirable periodical published at Stuttgart (I believe by the Government of Wurtemburg), and edited by Prof. Bäumer, Lecturer on Architecture at the Polytechnicum, or school for technical instruction in that town. The periodical is called the "Gewerbe-Halle," which may be translated "Hall of Art-Industry," and as we have nothing strictly analogous to it in England, a passing notice may be of interest to my readers, especially to those of the artisan class for whom it is designed.

In appearance it somewhat resembles the "Art Journal," and the cover is illustrated with great

taste. It is published monthly at about 8d. per number (7½ silver groschen),* and the part which lies before me contains, first, "A Chapter in the History of Art-Industry—Cabinet Making," which occupies about four quarto (double column) pages. Then follows a series of beautifully executed woodcuts, to serve as designs and patterns.

There are architectural ornaments copied from buildings, representing the various styles of art in different countries and ages. Modern compositions for castings in iron; mosaics; stone and wood carving; drawings of table-covers; carpets; and cabinet wares, such as a lady's sewing table, writing desk, &c.; and after these the text is resumed, and the number closes with useful paragraphs "On the Mode of Hardening Terra Cotta;" "Cement for Wood and Metal;" "On the Fabrication and Colorisation of Buffalo Horn;" "Imitation of Ivory;" "Graphite;" "Glass Etching." The journal is usually accompanied by working designs for artisans, and to

* Gewerbe-Halle. Organ für den Fortschritt in allen Zweigen der Kunst-Industrie, unter Mitwirkung bewährter Fachmänner redigirt von Wilhelm Bäumer, Prof. der Architectur am Polytechnicum in Stuttgart, und Julius Schnorr, Zeichner. Verlag von J. Engelhorn in Stuttgart. Preis, 7½ Sgr. = 24 Kr. Südd.

this part are appended several such drawings for cabinet makers' use.

If the "Gewerbe-Halle" were known in England (as it is, no doubt, to art-students), I am sure there would be hardly a public institution, and especially not a working men's institute, where it would not be taken.

The Munich Working Men's Union not alone imparts useful instruction to its members, but grants prizes for proficiency in the shape of books, which vary in value according to their grade, first, second, or third, and which are neatly and suitably bound. The classes, it may be mentioned, are well attended, and the educational advantages of the institution highly appreciated. But its benefits are far from being confined even to instruction and amusement. There is a sick club, a saving's bank, and the institution subscribes to the German Emigration Society, so that aid may be extended to such of its members as desire to emigrate.

The subscription to the sick and benefit club is 4d. per month, and as soon as a member is taken ill, he receives 9d. per day until his health is restored. Those who wish to participate in the benefits of the Savings' Bank must pay into it 8d.

per month, or they are liable to a small monthly fine. The interest allowed is 5 per cent. As to the Emigration Society, which is an extensive union, its objects may be considered the same as those of our Trade Protection Societies, except that for the purpose of securing "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work," it substitutes continued emigration for occasional strikes and an artificial rate of wages.

The published programme of the society states that its object is to remedy the evils arising from the grave inconsistency of those employers who, whilst they proclaim the necessity of educating and enlightening the working man, so as to make him a useful member of society, at the same time stultify themselves by proclaiming their right and intention to obtain the greatest amount of work on the lowest terms, as though it were possible for an artisan to cultivate his own intellectual powers and educate his children when he is compelled to exhaust his whole energy in working long hours for low wages!

"Capital is defunct; gold, in the truest sense of the word, a chimera, if labour does not cause it to circulate and impart a value to it. Thus the labourer may perceive that he is indispensable—

may recognise his influence in our social relations, feel his power, and recognise the necessity of retaining his intellectual faculties, so that he may not become a mere soulless instrument in the hands of others—may not, indeed, descend into slavery.*"

The report goes on to say that the difficulties thrown into the way of adult male labour, by the employment of women, which is deprecated as injurious to the women themselves, and by that of children, *necessitated by the pressure exercised upon German industry by English manufactures*, which threatens to ruin the German manufacturer, these causes have led to the establishment of the Emigration Society, and an appeal is made to the whole body of working men to support it as a means to relieve the labour market, and give the artisan a chance of obtaining remunerative employment.

Although the consideration of the wages question will be more conveniently deferred until the various institutions for working men have been described, I cannot help drawing attention to one or two interesting facts revealed by this

* Programm und Statuten des Teutschen Auswanderungs-Verein: München, 1867.

report. It shows us that whilst we are complaining in England of our trade and manufactures being injured by continental competition, arising, as our large manufacturers constantly tell us, from the lower scale of wages abroad, a cry is raised in Germany, that the continental manufacturers are being ruined by English competition; and that complaint comes, not from the employers of labour, whose interest it might be to circulate such a report, but from the working men themselves, who propose as remedies, emigration and the "establishment of a comparatively equal scale of wages all over the world." This is one startling fact. Another is that whilst the working men of England have been seeking to induce their comrades abroad to establish unions and raise their wages, so as to prevent the importation of continental artisans as "supplanters" in case of a strike here, such a line of policy is quite at variance with the interests of foreign workmen, whose cause will be far better promoted by emigration to England whenever the higher rate of wages will admit of it. They naturally desire, and let me at once add the opinion, that they, as well as our own workmen, deserve and require higher wages, but those are not to be obtained without

relieving the labour market; and although emigration to America is one of the means adopted, we may be sure that continued emigration to England will be another. The greater, too, they find their intellectual powers to become, the more desirous will the foreign workmen be to emigrate to this country, where, owing to its limited area, skilled is more remunerative than unskilled labour. To cultivate those intellectual powers they are making great exertions, notwithstanding that their hours of labour are longer than those of our working men; and the various States are aiding them by founding first-class schools for technical instruction, and by relieving them from the expense of educating the rising generation.

Nor are they hampered by swarms of drunken men and women, and barefooted children, to swell their parochial rates, and turn the streets and courts in which they dwell into hot-beds of vice and disease. Whilst the English artisan is crying out for higher wages and shorter working hours (to both of which, as well as to a share in the results of his labour I conceive the industrious workman to be fully entitled), and is looking with dread and apprehension upon the increasing labour supply,

he is quietly acquiescing in a far more dangerous state of things, namely, the ignorance, immorality, and crime in the midst of which he moves, and which tend, both directly and indirectly, to diminish the value of his labour; nay, he is actually fostering the cause of his ruin, for he holds his Trade and Benefit Societies' meetings in gin shops, extends the same relief to the good and bad workman during a strike, and insists upon the necessity of placing the drunken idler upon the same level with the sober industrious artisan in order to maintain the rate of wages.

The further consideration of this important question, and especially its promising aspects, will be found in the last chapter, and we will now return to our more immediate object—the intellectual and recreative institutions of the German workmen. Before concluding the account of the one at Munich, I would mention that it appeared to me to be admirably managed, and entirely by the working men themselves. They have the usual committee, with its president, vice-president, three secretaries, manager, book-keeper, treasurer, cashier of saving's bank, auditor, and librarian.

The President, Mr. Wyss, is an ivory turner by trade, a man of no mean literary attainments,

who explained to me with great clearness and gentlemanly courtesy all the arrangements, resources, and operations of the society, in which he takes a very deep interest. On my return to England he forwarded me a large photograph representing about sixty members of the institution, and although it would have increased the expense of this little treatise too much to have the picture engraved in its entirety, still it has been found possible to transfer a group, representing the chief members of the committee, as a frontispiece, and I have no doubt it will afford pleasure to many English artisans to make even this imperfect acquaintance with a number of their foreign fellow-workmen, of whom they may rest assured, not even the best and most highly cultivated amongst them have any cause to be ashamed.

On looking over the Programme of the festival with which the seventh anniversary of the Institution was celebrated shortly before my visit, I find that the President delivered an anniversary address, which I am sure would be of no mean order. (Why don't English artisans occasionally write and deliver their own anniversary addresses, instead of always engaging noble Lords and Members of Parliament to do so for them?) Also

that the artisan's choir, of whose excellent performance I have already spoken, contributed greatly to the enjoyment of the audience. It may here be mentioned, in passing, that the choir of the institution at Zurich, to be presently described, gives periodical concerts, to which a charge is made for admission, and that a considerable sum is thus annually raised towards the support of the institution.

On the opposite page is the Members' Anniversary Programme, which may perhaps be of interest, as conveying a more vivid idea of working mens' amusements abroad, than any mere verbal description of my own.

In the local papers this festival and the institution generally were highly lauded. The oration of Mr. Breininger, a member, was reported to have been delivered with great eloquence, and "the admirably composed anniversary address of the President, Mr. Wyss, was interrupted by repeated bravo's, and concluded amidst boisterous applause." Not alone residents in Munich attended, but also visitors from Augsburg and other neighbouring towns. It may seem to some of my readers very "un-English" (that is the word, I think, by which we characterise anything that rubs uncomfortably against our prejudices) to diversify the business

Programme

OF THE

SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY FESTIVAL

OF THE

WORKING MEN'S EDUCATIONAL UNION

AT MUNICH.

PART I.

*1. "Festival March," by *Fastlinger.*
2. "Free, Joyous Song." Chorus, by *Abt.*
3. Prologue, Composed and Recited by Mr. BREININGER (A Working Man, and Member of the Institution.)
*4. Overture to the Opera of "Rosamond," by *Schubert.*
5. Anniversary Address, delivered by Mr. WYSS, President of the Committee.
6. Statement of Accounts, read by Mr. RACKL, Chief Secretary.
*7. "Recollections of Covent Garden." New Waltz, by *Strauss.*

PART II.

8. "Miserere," from the Opera of the "Troubadour," by *Verdi.*
9. "On the Mountains." Chorus, by *Abt.*
10. "The Three Manly Tears." Recitation, by Mr. BREININGER.
*11. "Till Owlglass." Grand selection, by *Fastlinger.*
12. "The Choir." Chorus, by *Kreutzer.*
*13. "Soldier's Polka," by *Faust.*

PART III.

*14. Overture to the Opera "The Beautiful Galatea," by *Suppé.*
15. "The Singer's Curse." Recited by Mr. KÜBLER.
16. "Theatre Quadrille," by *Strauss.*
17. "The Black and the Red." Recitation, by Messrs. BREININGER and BEISSWANGER.
18. "The Rhine." Chorus, by *Nägeli.*
*19. "Gallop of '500,000 Demons,'" by *Michaelis.*

COMMENCEMENT AT SEVEN O'CLOCK.

The pieces marked with an * are instrumental, and will be performed by the "Rossmann" Band, under that gentleman's leadership.

TO-MORROW, MONDAY, MAY 17,

EXCURSION TO OBERFÖHRING, WITH DANCING.

Departure at 10 a.m. from the Union Institute.

GUESTS WILL BE WELCOME.

proceedings at the anniversary of such an institution with songs and recitations, but are we a whit more "business-like" in England? Is the reading of the annual report and treasurers' accounts preceded by a bill of fare by any means as intellectual as the above? Is there anything half so ludicrous or sensual in the musical and literary entertainment as in the full repast which the gentlemen devour under the eyes of their fair admirers?

As we have dwelt at some length upon the entertainments and intellectual resources of the working men at Munich, it may as well to mention the means which they have at command to enable them to indulge in such pursuits. The wages of a mason or bricklayer range from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. per diem; of a cabinet maker, 1s. 8d.; of a locksmith, 2s. 1d. This is, in the building trade, only about two-thirds of the wages of the same artisans at Elberfeld; but comfortable lodgings for a bachelor may be had at 6s. 8d. per month, as against 12s. at Elberfeld; and for a married man at a somewhat higher rate. Meat is dearer, being from 8d. to 9d. per lb.; but many of the poorer labourers eat German polonies (Wurst) which are far cheaper. Bread is 1d. per lb., the same as at

Elberfeld; first-rate beer, for which Munich is famous, 1d. per quart. A good working man's dinner costs 4d. Cloth clothing is much dearer than at Elberfeld; as dear as in England, and a skilled artisan of good position, and probably in receipt of high wages, showed me a cloth Sunday suit which had cost him nearly £3. Here, however, as in Elberfeld, and almost everywhere abroad, the workmen wear a cheap blue blouse during working hours.

Now let us for a moment compare these items with the same as they rule in England :—

	Average Wages of a Bricklayer or Locksmith.	Lodgings for a Bachelor.	Bread.	A Dinner.	Beer.
	per day.	per week.	per lb.		per quart.
In Munich ..	2s.—2s. 1d.	1s. 8d.	1d.	4d.	1d.
In England ..	4s. 8d.	4s. 0d.	2d.	6d.	5d.

It will be seen from this statement that although wages abroad are low, the cost of living is also low in proportion, and when we take the position of a married man instead of a bachelor, and add the numerous rates, taxes, charges for the education of children, from which he is almost exempt abroad, it will be found that our own workmen are as badly, or worse off with their higher rate of wages than the German artisan with a much lower remuneration for labour.

Again, although the Englishman works a

couple of hours less than the German, he has not actually that time at his disposal for recreation and intellectual culture, inasmuch as it is clipped from different parts of the working day. He has an hour less to work than the German workman in the evening, but even a portion of that advantage is lost through the long distance the English artisan has often to walk to and from his work, for which allowance is made only in certain trades; and in all places where there are such admirable clubs as I have been describing, where the artisan may take refreshment, and perhaps at the same time listen to good music, I question very much whether he has not the advantage over our operatives. Of course there is no reason why the English workman should not provide himself with similar means for utilising his leisure hours, if he would only exercise a little self-denial.

It must not be supposed, however, that I am saying this in approval of the condition of working men in either country. Wages are, on the average, too low in England, and the working hours too long, especially where the labour is incessant; so much the more, then, is this the case in Germany, especially where the workman seeks to use his time wisely; in Zurich we shall find a still worse state of affairs.

CHAPTER V.

The German Working Men's Union for Self-Culture in Switzerland.*

FIRST Indications of Wide-Spread Intemperance. Its Cause—Counteracting Influences. Wretched Condition of Swiss Factory Operatives in Large Towns. Drunkenness in Switzerland. Phenomenon connected with the Character of Liquors Drunk. Effects of Beer and Other Forms of Alcohol. Other Vices and Phases of Misery. A Swiss Trades' Union — Its Programme. The International Association—Its Operations—Causes of its Failures and Successes. Professor Bœhmert of Zurich, and his Connection with Working Men's Movements. Low Wages and Dear Living in Zurich. The Revue des Deux Mondes on Working Men's Combinations. Capital and Labour in Switzerland. Need of Wise Counsel for Workmen. A Genuine Working Man's Organ; "The Travelling Bag." A Socialist's Utopia and Reflections thereon. "The Travelling Bag" Reviewed. Republican Advocacy. Industrial Information. Intellectual Instruction. An Example to English Trades' Unions. Practical Work of the Zurich Institution. Its Internal Arrangements. The Boarding Club and its Management. Classes. Lectures. The Choir. Sunday Amusements of Working Men. Their Advantages and Objectionable Features. Reflections on Occupations of Working Men Abroad and at Home. Income and Expenditure of Artisans and Factory Hands at Zurich and Glarus.

THE consideration of the habits and condition of the artisan in Switzerland, although they approximate more closely than in Germany to

* Deutscher-Arbeiter-Bildungs-Verein in der Schweiz.

those of our own countrymen, affords instructive and significant lessons.

There it was that I first found indications of wide-spread intemperance,* resulting from the consumption of strong drink, necessitated, perhaps, in some degree by the less genial climate, and partly consequent upon the existence of a closely packed population.

The intemperance would no doubt be still greater in Switzerland were it not for the want of pecuniary means for indulgence, and the presence of those higher and more refined tastes—the love of music, for example—which, as I have shown, operate so favourably in Germany, and the existence of cheap rational entertainments.

Here we first read in the rules of a working men's institute that "It is forbidden to supply wine to members who have already taken enough alcoholic liquor."†

* During my journey, the first drunken man I saw was an officer on the bridge at Cologne; then the whole of North Germany, Bavaria, the Tyrol, Venetia, and back again into Switzerland were traversed without seeing such an object, and much of my time was spent amongst working men, engaged in their leisure occupations; no sooner had I put my foot into a Swiss town—Coire—than I met a man intoxicated before breakfast—and after that I saw several, but ceased to notice them. Altogether, however, there are no such drunken scenes to be witnessed abroad as in the lower parts of our large towns in England.

† Rules of the Boarding Society ("Speise-Gesellschaft,"—literally, Food Society)—of the German Working Men's Association at Zurich.

There the words "overcrowding," "filth," and "cholera," are found bracketed together as with us. Indeed, I cannot do better than to make a short extract from an admirable report on the condition of the factory operatives in the Canton of Zurich, published last year by Dr. Bœhmert Professor of Political Economy at the Polytechnic and Cantonal Schools at Zurich, at the request of a commission appointed by the Canton,* and my readers will have no difficulty in conceiving of some large English manufacturing town transplanted into Switzerland.

"The condition of the factory hands as regards dwellings is far more favourable in the country than in towns, where house rent has risen so high that workmen with low wages are obliged to make shift with small damp rooms without light or fresh air. Such cramped habitations with their filth and want of ventilation have the effect of reducing morality to a low ebb, and of effacing from the nature of a working man the appreciation of the blessings of a home. No wonder that such a place is gladly exchanged for a tavern! The township of 'Niederdorf' and the parish of

* Published at Zurich by the Schabelitz 'sche Buchhandling: Cæsar Schmidt, 1868.

'Aussersihl,' where the cholera first appeared in 1867, and where it raged most violently, can boast of innumerable unhealthy dwellings. In consequence of their high rent, from 250 to 300 francs (£10 to £12) the workmen's houses built by the Zurich Joint Stock Building Company, are only available for the better-paid workmen, and the urgent need of the erection of a cheaper class of healthy dwellings for the poorer workmen still remains unfulfilled." Nor is the preference of the public house shown by working men, before such dwellings as Dr. Bœhmert refers to, by any means exceptional. Let us hear what another able writer says on this subject.* "The abuse of intoxicating drinks," he tells us, "is unfortunately a prevalent vice in Switzerland, and some of the cantons more favoured in that respect, are only the exceptions which prove the rule." The author confirms the view which I have expressed regarding the introduction and use of mild

* Les Institutions Ouvrières de la Suisse, par Gustave Moynier; Genève et Paris: Librairie Cherbuliez, 1867. Although this work relates to Switzerland only, it will be found very useful to English social economists and reformers, for it exhibits on a smaller scale the same moral conditions as exist in England, and just as we are sometimes able to study anatomy and physiology with better success in small animals than in the larger forms of life, so there we find society more transparent, so to speak, and its vital processes more clearly perceptible, than in our own country.

beverages, especially beer. After describing the want of success which has attended all the measures adopted for the suppression of drunkenness, he speaks of its decrease in the Canton of Soleure, and gives the following statement of the quantities of liquor consumed there in 1863 and and 1865, from which it will be seen that beer and light wines are gradually superseding the use of spirits. The numbers represent a federal measure of 1½ litres.

	Swiss Wines.	Foreign Wines.	Beer and Cider.	Brandy.
In 1863	1,334,865	637,166	23,168	126,443
In 1865	1,483,546	953,944	84,972	121,120

Here, it will be observed, that whilst the consumption of wines was increasing considerably, and that of beer had nearly quadrupled, the quantity of brandy consumed was diminishing. The author attributes the decrease of drunkenness in the Canton, not alone to the cause just assigned, but also to the establishment of comfortable refreshment rooms, where coffee, milk, and small rolls are sold, as well as to the introduction of saving's-banks and other institutions calculated to encourage habits of thrift and forethought.

In Switzerland, then, we find all the conditions

which exist in England, and amongst them unfortunately the drunkenness, over-crowding, filth, immorality, and disease which militate against the advancement of our own artisan class. There, too (those will find who take the trouble to read the works of Dr. Bœhmert and M. Moynier) the misery and degradation of the poorer ranks have stimulated the nobler sentiments of philanthropic employers so far as to induce them in some cases to build suitable dwellings for their workmen, where they are not obtainable in the ordinary course.

And now let us inquire what the working men are doing for themselves.

There are in Switzerland two large bodies of artisans, the Germans and Swiss, for whose benefit associations have been founded, chiefly by their own body; but I propose to confine my observations still to the union of German working men, whose branches are spread all over Switzerland, and which, it will be found, has attained considerable importance.

This will be best understood when I state that it has 48 branches, its centre being at Geneva. At least 36 of these branch societies, it may be mentioned in passing, follow the pernicious

example, set them by our English trades' unions, of holding their meetings in taverns.*

The Union numbered in the fourth quarter of 1868, 1674 members, and of these 245 belong to the Geneva branch, and 214 to the one at Zurich visited by me. The remaining branches have from 4 to 92 members. In considering what may appear to be insignificant numbers, it must be remembered that the whole of Switzerland is only as large as two or three of our large English counties, and that we are speaking of a recently established society of foreigners there.

The organisation of the institution need not be explained to an English workman, for it is conducted precisely on the principle of an English trades' union, and its objects are the protection, social and political elevation of the labouring classes. Those ends are sought to be attained "through the establishment of lectures, discussions, and classes for instruction; by means of gymnastic and singing exercises; the foundation of libraries and newspapers; the organisation of meetings; the relief of travelling workmen; through the agency of boarding associations;

* It is only fair to say that the operatives in Liverpool are beginning to quit such places, and to seek more suitable quarters for their meetings.

through a democratic (self-governing) management; the publication of a weekly newspaper; and by the connection of the Union with the International Association."

Of this programme, we will first consider the last clause, for it is the one in which the institution departs most widely in its policy from those that have hitherto been described; namely, its connection with the so-called International Association.

It will perhaps hardly be necessary that I should trouble my readers with any particulars relating to the character of the International Association; for much has been published, not always fairly, concerning it. It may, however, be mentioned for the information of those who are unacquainted with its objects, that it is an association consisting chiefly of foreigners, which has its centre in London, and is seeking, by means of correspondents in various continental countries, to bring into operation those agencies which have been active, and until recently, have been undoubtedly successful in England, in raising the wages and shortening the hours of labour of working men—namely, Trade Protection Societies and strikes. For reasons somewhat similar

to those which are leading to a happier state of things at home, the operations of the International Association have not met with that success abroad that its founders would have wished. There the strong arm of Government (and in Switzerland the will of the middle classes and a section of the artisan class combined) has arrested the reign of coercion and intimidation at the outset. On the other hand, the better feeling between employers and employed, and consequently the greater readiness on the part of the former to make concessions; the closer approximation of the two parties in an educational point of view, than existed in England when strikes were first introduced; and above all the absence of that intemperance by which the passions of the masses are inflamed; these causes are all conducing to an amicable settlement of trade disputes; and those who will take the trouble to consider the matter carefully, without permitting their feelings or interests to prejudice them, will find that it is where any of these favourable elements have been wanting, and only there, that the operations of the International Association have been more or less successful.

During my stay at Zurich, I found, to my regret,

that Professor Bœhmert, whose report of the condition of working men in Switzerland has been quoted, and who took an active part in the foundation of the German Artisan's Union, had withdrawn from his relations with it, in consequence of its alliance with the International Association. With him, as well as with the president of the Union, Mr. Seelos, and also with Mr. Carl Bürkli, a well-known agent of the International Association, I had long conversations, especially with the first-named, and it was sad to find that in a locality where the conditions of existence for the working man are terribly adverse, the social forces should also be disunited.

Mr. Bürkli admitted to me that he had endeavoured in vain to promote a strike in the building trade; and I took the opportunity of recommending that the Association should adopt a different policy if they wished to serve their clients, for although no one can object more strongly than I do to coercion, or even to strikes and lock-outs, excepting as final appeals, when all other means have failed, it was impossible not to see that the objects of the International Association, namely, the raising of wages and shortening of the hours of labour at Zurich are perfectly

legitimate. The daily wages of a spinner or of a workman in the building trade there are 2s. Bread is about 1½d, per lb; meat, 6d. (veal 7d.); and a wretched lodging costs 4s. 2d. per week! Compare this with England: wages, 4s. and 5s. 6d. respectively; bread, 2d.; meat, 6d. to 9d.; lodgings, 5s. and 6s.

Why was it necessary that the cry for higher wages should reach Switzerland from London; and that the increase should be ushered in by strikes, as it was at Bale and Geneva? Is it to be wondered at that the poor workmen of Switzerland should look wistfully at the increased wages of the English artisan, and should be curious enough to inquire how the change had been brought about. Perhaps we shall be told by employers, with grave faces, of competition and the necessity for cheap labour; but not, I trust, by those manufacturers whose mansions rise in majesty on the banks of the Lake of Zurich, and whose immense wealth is the boast of her citizens!

In the "Revue des Deux Mondes" (Issue of June 15, 1869) there is an article by M. Louis Reybaud, on "Working Men's Agitations and the International Association," which has been widely read, and has, I believe, given satisfaction to

employers of labour, who are but superficially acquainted with the condition of those whom the writer denounces. Everyone will sympathise with him in his disapproval of strikes, and still more in his denunciation of rattening and intimidation; but few reflecting persons will be disposed to believe that a handful of ignorant demagogues, prompted by a wretched ambition, could kindle such flames as are beginning to blaze abroad, and could have caused risings such as those which he has described as having taken place in Bale and Geneva (which, by the way, have left no worse results than an increase of wages !) if the employers of labour were just and unselfish, and if the working population had been previously, as the author would have us believe, in a happy and contented condition !

There is much to be said in justification of any reasonable and lawful steps which the working men of Switzerland may think fit to take for the purpose of obtaining fair remuneration for their labour, but, on the other hand, it will be an evil day for them when they alienate the sympathies of such men as Dr. Bœhmert. He not only understands their wants, but knows how they are to be met. He is as

friendly with the employers as with themselves, and will be listened to with respect when he recommends concessions, whilst the same requests, be they ever so reasonable, will be regarded as "dictation" and "intimidation," if backed by the threats of the International Association, and will be met by stern refusal and counter unions.

In England the day of strikes is passing away; why renew them abroad, where the higher education of the artisan, points to the Court of Conciliation and Arbitration as the proper and legitimate means of settling trade disputes, and where such courts have long existed for allied purposes? As I have said, strikes and lock-outs are justifiable only as a last resource against injustice or breach of faith; but the tactics of the International Association seem to be a word and a blow! Such a policy is not likely to be either successful in a material sense, nor conducive to the happiness and comfort of the working classes.

The organ of the German workmen in Switzerland is called the "Felleisen," or "Travelling Bag." It promulgates democratic and socialistic doctrines, diametrically opposed to those of the Catholic paper published at Cologne; but although its opinions are quite as extreme, it does not

manipulate facts so dexterously as the latter organ, and is decidedly a more useful and honest periodical.

My artisan friends at Zurich gave me three numbers, one of which (March 19th, 1869) reproduces the programme originally announced in the one first issued.

Its aim is the equality of Man; all men are to have the same opportunities afforded them for moral and intellectual improvement, as well as social enjoyment. This end is to be attained (1) by a universal republic; (2) by the abrogation of all class distinctions, and the equality of all individuals in the state; (3) all children are to be educated gratuitously in every vocation until they attain their 15th year; (4) religion being a private affair of the conscience, priests are not to be allowed to interfere in educational, municipal, or state concerns, and are only to be paid by those who choose to employ them. Religious demonstrations, which are offensive to others, should therefore not be tolerated in the streets nor in communal buildings (churches) nor should religious corporations or organisations be permitted. (This is republican liberty!!) Standing armies, tolls, taxes (except the income tax) should be done

away with; they are intended to benefit the few, not the many; (6) the existing relations between masters and workmen should cease, and in place thereof should be substituted co-operative societies, in which every working man should participate in the profits earned by his labour; (7) capital has hitherto been the tyrant and oppressor of labour, and with its aid, and that of machinery, men have been reduced to the status of machines; hereafter capital should only minister to labour, and by procuring machinery and employing capital the workmen should become masters; (8) private and public property will continue to exist, but as far as possible the latter should be extended. Railways, mines, &c., should become public property, and no doubt will become so in the course of time; (9) paupers, and those who are incapable of work, should be maintained by the state; begging and receiving alms are unworthy of freemen.

It would be easy for any one who is unfriendly towards the working classes, by a few adroitly chosen sentences, to cast ridicule upon the whole programme, and even those who have their welfare most nearly at heart cannot suppress a smile at the incongruous mixture of sense and nonsense which it contains. Taxes are to be abolished, but

children to be educated by the state, and pauperism discountenanced, but the pauper system extended. Capital and machinery are said to have enslaved the working men; whilst they have been the greatest civilising agencies, and have produced the very highest class of artisans! In order to hasten the millenium when every man shall govern himself, and shall be as wise and good and happy as his neighbour, religion is to be suppressed, and not only habits of improvidence fostered, by the young and aged being handed over to the state for support, but taverns and beerhouses (which are no doubt reckoned amongst "social enjoyments") are to be allowed to flourish and remain as conservatories for the wretched plants that ultimately find their way not only into poorhouses, but into gaols and lunatic asylums (concerning which there is a strange reticence) there to rot and die!

But on the other hand, every one who is watching the movements of society abroad and at home, must admit that the programme reflects, though in a distorted shape, every great and useful political and social change which is taking place.

None but ignorant or designing persons will endeavour to convince the working men that they can put an end to class distinctions, but every

sensible member of the middle and upper ranks will readily admit the need of a removal of the barrier which at present separates class from class. That the poor should be educated by the state until they attain their fifteenth year means that, by "compulsory education," the rising generation shall be saved from the consequences of the vice, folly, and ignorance of their ancestors. The desire to suppress religious demonstrations springs from the state of priestly rule abroad; and whoever has seen the effects of such demonstrations in Ireland, which most nearly approaches the continent in its religious character, will approve of their suppression. The feeling, too, is rapidly gaining ground that secular and religious objects should be kept distinct, and that the education and entertainment of the working classes is better cared for by lay than by clerical management. All our legislation is in that direction; but, on the other hand, there can be no freedom without religion, and if man wishes to attain the highest social and political standard, a still higher beacon—religious perfection—must ever be his guiding star. Refusing to let priestly influence creep into societies with secular aims is one thing—is justifiable and proper, but Man has as much or more need of

religious than of secular organisations, and the attempt to suppress those would be as absurd and useless as it would be wicked and tyrannical.

As soon as working men are as industrious, well-educated, sober, and experienced as their masters, they will be their own employers, and the distinction between them will cease; but some time will have to elapse ere such a happy change is consummated. Meanwhile, it would be as well for the organs and mouthpieces or would-be counsellors of the artisan to remember—or, if they do not know it, to learn—that co-operative societies and companies are receiving the support and aid of the middle classes, and are only successfully managed by persons who unite the qualities of the two ranks. Without the aid of such persons co-operative societies could not be formed, or if formed, the want of proper management would soon result in their downfall.

The means used in the journal to accomplish the revolutionary ends referred to, are, however, by no means in keeping with the formidable character of the latter, and autocrats have no need, just yet, to tremble on their thrones, nor large capitalists to dread the confiscation of their property to the uses of the community. The

journal, like the one published at Cologne, is divided into three sections, but the contents are widely different from that one. In one respect they resemble one another, namely, their method of reporting political news, each in support of its own doctrines. In the "Felleisen" everything is lauded which savours of revolution, democracy, or republicanism, and precisely those events which are regarded with hatred and apprehension by the Rhenish Catholic paper are hailed with satisfaction by this one.

The establishment of a republic in Spain is a great cause of jubilee.

"In England a serious agitation has commenced against the House of Lords, which will probably lead to a change in the constitution; this has arisen in consequence of their having threatened to throw out the Irish Church Bill which has been passed by the Lower House."*

Again: "We will only communicate to the union, amongst the news from England, that the great dyeing firm of Ripley and Son, of Bowling, near Bradford, has decided to admit its work-people to the participation of its profits on capital."

* "Das Felleisen," June 19.

The journal (January 29) goes on to describe (not quite accurately I think) the arrangement which has been made, and adds that the firm in question will lose nothing by the concession — a statement which no manufacturer will deny who has ventured to try the experiment.

It is not, however, always so fair, for on the 19th June there is an account of the riot in Paris, where the Government is accused of having raised and fomented the disturbance as a justification for resisting reforms; and it is stated, on the authority of French journals and "a reliable private communication," that after allowing the rabble to continue rioting for some time, the police fell upon, "not the rioters, but the peaceable citizens." This is the antithesis of the poison and dagger business imputed to the Garibaldians, in the Rhenish paper!

In addition to the political news there is some useful industrial information in the "Felleisen." "How to remove grease spots from cloth and stuffs;" "Black pigment for shoemakers;" "Greek stone" (imitation marble—this is extracted from the Stuttgart paper—the "Gewerbe-Halle,"); "Glycerine a cure for burns." These are examples

of the headings of the industrial paragraphs; then there is a truly historical section.

"A Glance at the Social History of Nations from the Earliest Ages to the Present Day; Part II. Rome under the Republic."

The Union wisely publishes its accounts, and also the audited half-yearly accounts of its newspaper. Those of March 12th show a small profit of 14 francs 3 centimes on the issue, after paying all expenses.

And now descending, or I should rather say ascending, from the general principles professed by the whole Union of German Working Men, we will once more visit the sphere of their practical usefulness and well-doing. The Zurich branch of the union holds its meetings in a house, the approaches to which are very mean and unattractive, but this is sufficiently accounted for by the fact that house rent is exceedingly high, and instead of reflecting unfavourably upon the institution, it redounds greatly to the credit of the members that they should have battled with almost unsurmountable difficulties in their attempts at self-help and education. The interior of the building is sufficiently capacious and comfortable.

There are at present about 250 members paying

a subscription of 1 franc 5 cents (about 10½d.) per month, which includes relief and the subscription to the journal. I visited the institution twice, and saw, first the boarding club (Speise-Association), which is conducted in a lower room, and the second time, the educational and recreative sections, which are located in a room above. The boarding club is admirably organised, and its management would serve as an example to our working men, being hedged round by a series of very stringent checks against peculation. It is directed by a sub-committee, comprising a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, two managers, and cashier. The election of these is tri-monthly by ballot. The officers may not hold any other post in the society, and two of them to whom the funds and purchases are intrusted, have to give security. As a further check there is an audit committee. The chief manager has a small salary, and the cashier gets 5 per cent on the receipts. Excellent regulations exist for the maintenance of order, and there is one rule, already quoted, which forbids the supplying of wine to any one who has already had sufficient. An entrance fee, which is, however, very small, is payable to this section of the institution, and

the food is supplied at a little over cost price. There are three meals daily: breakfast, consisting of coffee and bread and butter, between 5.30 and 8.30 a.m, Dinner, served from 12 to 1, and at which ½ lb. of meat with vegetables, *ad libitum*, are allowed to each person, along with half-a-pint of red wine, for which 10 to 15 centimes (1d. to 1½d.) is charged. An Englishman would prefer beer. And lastly, supper, from 7 to 8.30 p.m. About 90 members of the union belong to the boarding association, chiefly bachelors, and take all their meals at the establishment.

The educational section resembles that at Munich, but is by no means so efficient, and this may be to some extent accounted for by the fact that the members do not direct their whole energies to intellectual pursuits, but busy themselves with politics. Some of the professors of the public schools deliver lectures, and there are classes in singing, arithmetic, drawing, French, writing, and bookkeeping. For gymnastics there is an extra charge, (if I recollect aright, the gymnasium does not belong to the institution).

The choir is one of the chief features of the union, and as usual, its members were only too happy to favour me with some admirable glees

and part songs. Mr. Seelos, the gentlemanly and obliging President of the Institution (a working man, of course), told me that the choir contributes to its maintenance by giving periodical concerts, to which an admission fee is charged, and I had an illustration of its popularity amongst the members during my short visit. It was Saturday evening, and the chairman of the choral committee mounted the rostrum and announced that on the following day, Sunday, the choir would make an excursion to some neighbouring village, which the members, generally, were invited to join. One of the ordinary members, who had evidently not heard the latter part of the announcement, came up to the president, who was explaining to me some matters connected with the institution, and asked eagerly, "What did he say—are we all invited?" and the affirmative reply made him go off like a schoolboy who has been told he is to have a half-holiday.

It would not be desirable that such amusements as these should be permitted in England on Sunday *morning* (as they are in Switzerland), for I fear they would be found more attractive to working men, than some of the sermons they now listen to, and they might interfere with the

devotional service, but, as I have already said, it seems to me that it will be a matter for national congratulation when our strict sabbatarianism is so far relaxed as that such delightful pursuits shall be encouraged on the Sunday afternoon. I could not help reflecting when the little incident just narrated occurred, how many English working men would be saved from the debauchery of the tap-room here, if they could look forward during the week to such a rational Sunday enjoyment as this; a series of songs performed by themselves or their fellow workmen, in the midst of nature's beautiful scenery. No doubt I shall be told that a "Continental Sunday," as it is called, would not be tolerated here. Nor should it; but one extreme is sure to beget another, and when the reaction comes in England, which it certainly will, unless sensible people step in and insist upon a relaxation of our present system, it is more than probable that we *shall* have a Continental Sunday, plus the abominations of the gin palace which exist already!*

* Since the earlier pages of this treatise went to press, I have been agreeably surprised to find that at the Liverpool Church Congress, the Rev. J. C. Chambers read a paper, in which he warmly advocated, in substance, the views expressed by me concerning Sunday recreations for the artisan classes. This looks hopeful.

There is a fair library of 600 or 700 volumes at the institution, and the "Gewerbe Halle" is taken. The lighter amusements are chess and drafts, but cards and playing for money are forbidden.

Reference has already been made to the rate of wages and cost of living at Zurich, but it may be added that a workman in the building trade receives 2 to 3 francs (1s. 8d. to 2s. 6d) per day; cabinet makers average 2 francs 50 cents (2s. 1d.) Bread is 15 cents or about 1½d. per lb.; beef, 6d.; veal, 7½ per lb. The rent of a working man's apartment is 20 francs or 16s. per month, and even the most miserable cottage costs 180 to 200 francs (£7 4s. to £8) per annum.

Dr. Bœhmert, it will be remembered, speaks of the somewhat better condition of the country artisans. I therefore obtained a few details on the subject from some gentlemen whom I met on the Lake of Zurich, large spinners from Glarus, a smaller manufacturing town not far from the east end of the lake, and found that there the daily wages of a spinner are about 2s. The cost of bread is nearly as high as in England. Meat is 6d. per lb., and house rent, as Dr. Bœhmert says, is more favourable, namely, 2s. 6d. per week, instead

of 4s. 6d. as in Zurich. In addition to this the factory hands have allotted to them a small piece of land, on which they grow vegetables, and most of them breed and feed pigs. They usually have a relief fund amongst themselves to which the manufacturers contribute one-half. These details along with those which have been given in previous chapters, concerning the wages and expenditure of working men in other towns, will be found in the comparative statement appended to this treatise.

CHAPTER VI.

The People's Bank and Hall of Industry at Mayence.

THE Rival Theories of Lasalle and Schulze-Delitsch on State Aid and Self-help. Day Dreams and Illusions for Working Men. Practical Aids to Material Progress. The System of Schulze-Delitsch. People's Banks. Small Masters and Industrial Trading Companies. The People's Bank at Mayence. Its Aims, Constitution, and Management. Its Operations. The Hall of Industry. Constitution, Management. Trade Regulations. Safeguards against Fraud and Disputes. Important Aid rendered to Artisans by the Society. Relations between the Hall of Industry and People's Bank. A Perfect System of Industrial Co-operation. How it operates. Beneficial Results for the Artisan Class. Retrospect and Conclusion.

THERE are in Germany two parties engaged in the effort to promote the material prosperity of the working classes; known respectively as the followers of Lasalle and of Schulze-Delitsch. The former are Socialists, whose views are pretty well represented by the newspaper noticed in the last chapter, their theory (for it is not likely to extend further) being that it is the

duty of the State to supply funds for the establishment of workshops in which the artisans shall also be proprietors. In other words, the middle and upper classes are politely requested to pay taxes for their own extinguishment; for the propounders of this theory must of course reckon upon the inability of private individuals to carry on any manufacture in competition with a State establishment, which might, in case of need, be conducted without a profit, otherwise their principles could never be carried into practice. But the real operation of the scheme, if the middle and upper classes were foolish enough to allow it to be attempted, would be most unfortunate for the operatives themselves. If the business could be successfully carried on, they would become State employés and would exchange their liberty for a small annual payment. But, with the exception of such enormous establishments as the Post Office, necessitating a central government, it is well known that the State cannot compete with private enterprise; and only a designing and despotic government would countenance the scheme as a permanent one, for its own political ends. Then it would be found that instead of the Utopia in which there would be no taxpaying, the imposts

of the poor as well as the rich would be considerably increased, and the lion's share of the money raised would go to place-men, large and small. It is readily to be understood that some Frenchmen may look with favour upon such a scheme, but how a long-reflecting logical Teuton can possibly seek its accomplishment is indeed a mystery. But, as I have said, it is only the *theorising* German whose regards are turned towards the State for aid, and whilst he is dreaming, thousands with more practical ideas are raising up a fabric of which Germany may well be proud. These are the disciples of Herr Schulze-Delitsch, an advocate at Berlin, whose doctrines and practice are embodied in the one word—Self-help. His system is, in fact, the same as the co-operative one, which finds such favour in England, and he has brought the mind of a lawyer and statesman to bear upon and develop it systematically from the commencement. He establishes people's banks, where the poorest artisan, so long as he is respectable and has one or two friends who will be his security for a small amount, may obtain the means to become his own employer; in other words, he secures to the industrious artisan, in a suitable measure, that credit

which usually enables clever working men to become first small masters and then large manufacturers. It is no matter of surprise, therefore, that concurrently with the establishment of these peoples' banks, the class of small masters is rapidly increasing, and co-operative stores, as well as associations or companies of artisans for the sale of raw materials and manufactured articles made by the shareholders are everywhere springing into existence abroad.*

Instead of dwelling upon the abstract principles of Herr Schulze-Delitsch, which are to be found enunciated in his published works,† I propose to give a brief outline of the operations of two institutions at Mayence, the "Peoples' Bank" (Volksbank), and the "Hall of Industry" (Industrie-Halle), which practically illustrate the essence of his theory.

The Peoples' Bank at Mayence, which is only

* In the "Co-operator," an excellent and well-known periodical, published at Manchester, and edited by Mr. Hy. Pitman (Nos. 200-203), will be found an account of the general condition of these associations. From what I have seen of one or two there mentioned, and which are reckoned amongst the best, I am disposed to think that the prosperity of the whole is over-rated. This arises from the enthusiasm of those who are interested in their success, and who communicated the details to the Co-operative Congress recently held in London.

† His various works, including those on the Law of Co-operative Societies, are published by F. A. Herbig, Berlin.

one of many similar institutions scattered all over Germany, is a joint-stock concern, somewhat resembling a respectable small bank or discount office in England. It has a twofold purpose, being both a money dealing and a saving's bank, the object of the first-named being to provide means for its shareholders to carry on their business affairs. The proprietors, 876 in number, consist chiefly of working men and women; engineers, painters, smiths, tailors, letter-carriers, bakers, gilders, cabinet makers, lithographers, bookbinders, carpenters, cab-drivers; in fact, men of every vocation, with a large sprinkling of petty tradesmen and a few capitalists.

It is governed by a committee, or board of directors, the president being Dr. Carl Jung, an attorney (Advocat-Anwalt) and the remainder comprising a gentleman of private fortune, a tradesman, a glazier (master), a shoemaker, a master cabinet maker,* a saw maker, a brass-founder, a bricklayer, a contractor, and Mr. George Schmidt, the manager.

The capital of the bank consists of stock contributed by the members, under conditions which

* These are most likely in a small way of business.

admit of its withdrawal, and a borrowed capital of money left on deposit. In order to retain its character as a "Peoples' Bank," no single member may hold more than 300 florins (about £27 10s.) stock in the concern. Advances are made, of amounts as low as 10 florins, upon bills bearing the name of at least one responsible person besides the borrower, or upon the pledge of securities. A member may always have advances to the amount of the stock held by him, and such further sum as the directors, guided by the regulations, think proper. But the extent of advances is so restricted by the rules as to render any attempts at swindling, similar to those practised by certain English bank directors, quite futile, whilst the business is confined purely to banking and bill discounting, and no trading is allowed on any plea whatever. The manager, Herr Schmidt, is a shrewd, gentlemanly, intelligent man, who receives, besides his moderate salary, a percentage on the profits (tantième) as do also the directors, who are credited 10 per cent, which they divide between them. Of course there is a considerable reserve fund, and when it is added that the accounts current of the customers, who are themselves members, average

about 100 florins, or about £8 10s. to £9, it will be seen that nothing can be more solid or based on a better foundation than such an establishment as this one.

But now let us direct our attention for a moment to the so-called "Hall of Industry" (Industrie-Halle), and we shall perceive the full value of this peoples' bank. The former is a large co-operative shop, truly an industrial hall, at the back of the town theatre, of which it forms a portion. Formerly there were sold in it a greater variety of articles than at present, but it was found more profitable to restrict the operations of the company (for it is an association very similar to the peoples' bank) to articles of furniture, for which Mayence is so celebrated. Even at the time of my visit, however, I found, besides various excellent articles of furniture, mirrors, baskets, bird-cages, &c.; but in general terms it may be called a large cabinet makers' store.

The company, as a whole, are commission merchants, for every article deposited in the hall remains the property of the individual member who makes it and sends it there for sale. There are about 70 members, chiefly working cabinet makers, upholsterers, basket makers, looking-

glass silverers, frame makers, sculptors, carvers, gilders, turners, and marble masons.

Any respectable workman may become a proprietary member, and may use the Hall of Industry for the sale of his work, provided he does not keep a shop himself, and he will receive advances, if he requires them, on such articles as he deposits for sale. The directors are honorary, but they are assisted by a paid manager (who has to give ample security) and by experts who examine and value every article before it is admitted into the magazine or shop.

The hall, which was at first granted free of charge by the municipal authorities, but for which rent is now paid, is supported by the contributions of members, namely entrance fees of 5 florins (8s. 4d.) and annual subscriptions of 4 florins (6s. 8d.) payable quarterly, as well as by a commission of 6 per cent, which is deducted from the proceeds of the goods sold there. I was told that at Darmstadt, Frankfort, and Wiesbaden, where there are similar institutions, the amount of commission charged is 10 per cent. All articles deposited in the hall are insured by the company; the maker guarantees their quality to the directors, who, in their turn, warrant them to the purchaser.

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Every member, as I have said, is allowed to deposit articles for sale, so far as the space admits, and he may claim advances on such goods, but only provided they are approved as saleable and well-made by the directors, aided by the "experts." The committee of experts consists of four cabinet makers and four upholsterers, chosen at a general meeting and not by the directors themselves. These experts examine and value the goods in the presence of at least one director and the paid manager, and report upon them.

When an article, say for example, a writing table, or any other piece of furniture is approved, valued, and admitted, the manager finds a suitable place for it in the hall. The exhibiting member then receives an advance varying from half to two-thirds of its value, according to its saleability, the rule being that the advance upon useful cabinet wares shall not exceed two-thirds, or of articles of luxury one-half the selling price. As soon as the article is sold, an account is rendered to the owner, in which he is credited with the selling price less his advance with interest, and 6 per cent commission. Of course there are rules and provisions in case of disputes, and, under certain circumstances, the directors have the power of

summary sale. One of the rules will suffice to show how careful the directors are of the interests of the customers as well as of the reputation of the establishment:—"Whoever sends stuffed" (in German 'upholstered') "furniture to the hall is bound to communicate to the manager the weight of hair which has been employed in its manufacture, which will be stated upon the price-ticket appended to the goods standing in the hall."

In order to give some idea of the extent of the company's transactions, I may mention that in 1868 the nett turn over was 31,725 florins, or about £2380.

But now we come to a very significant fact connected with the society, and one from which its great value to the working classes may readily be judged. On comparing the list of members of the "Hall of Industry" with that of the "Peoples' Bank," I find that nearly half of the former are also proprietors of the bank, and are therefore able to participate in the profits and advantages offered by both institutions. The practical effect is this: Provided a working man can only save enough to pay the moderate entrance fees and subscriptions to the two institutions, he need never be out of work; for if he has a respectable friend who will

be his security for 10 or 20 florins (16s. 8d. or £1 13s. 4d.) he goes to his own bank (the Peoples' Bank) and borrows the money, with which he purchases wood or other raw materials for his labour. Having made an article of furniture, he takes it to his own magazine (the Hall of Industry) where, in all probability, he will obtain a sufficiently large advance to enable him to pay off his debt at the bank, (or, should his term for repayment not have expired, to purchase fresh materials for labour) and leave him something for his maintenance whilst his finished work is being converted into cash at the Industrial Hall. All depends upon his care and industry, for, in general, well-executed work means a ready sale and quick turn-over, which are the secrets of success and road to fortune in every sphere, from the humble cabinet maker to the princely manufacturer.

And this is really what is taking place where such aids to material progress are within the reach of the artisan. At first he works alone; then he avails himself of the assistance of his younger or less fortunate brethren, and so the class of small masters is increasing, and is likely to increase through the means of self help which have been afforded by the valuable institution here described,

and so wisely projected and watched by Herr Schulze-Delitsch, the able Prussian advocate, and wise philanthropist.

HASTY and superficial as our survey of a German artisan's life has been, it has not, I trust, been without interest for social economists and reformers, nor without suggestive features for the consideration of our own working classes.

There was long an impression in England that continental artisans are, on the whole, inferior to ours, and that idea was fostered by the fact that, where English machinery was sent abroad, it was considered necessary for one or more English mechanics to accompany and superintend its erection and use. Moreover, our own countrymen undeniably possess greater endurance, and their activity during working hours is greater than it is in foreigners, consequently it was not unusual in great engineering works to employ gangs of English navvies, and it is a not unfrequent matter of amusing comment, even now, that the German workman often performs half his duties with a

long pipe in his mouth. But this is the superficial aspect of the case. What the German workman lacks physically is, on the whole, well compensated for by his superior intelligence and sobriety, and it is just there where our artisans have to fear his competition: there it is that they may find in him an example worthy of imitation. We have seen that during his whole life his mental powers are successfully cultivated, and he has been bettering his condition by this means, whilst the English artisan has been employing physical force to the same end. Which would be the permanent gainer in the long run, if the same line of action should continue at home and abroad, it needs little foresight to discover.

From his early childhood, the training of a German workman is such as to "make the man a better mechanic, the mechanic a better man." He is never allowed to run idle about the streets, but is sent early to school, and this fixes upon him a stamp of superiority which can never be effaced. It is true his religious education is not so well cared for as that of a large proportion of our workmen's children; but, on the other hand, he never hears God's name used for blasphemy alone, as it is by thousands upon thousands of

every age in this country. As he grows up, he receives not alone a primary education, but is often taught one or two accomplishments, and what is of far greater value to him, he learns the theory as well as the practice of his trade. This constitutes the difference between a machine which every one may work who can afford to purchase it, and an intelligent being who understands the object and value of his own skill in handicraft. That the German artisan belongs to the latter order of beings is clear from the pointed allusions constantly made, in his prospectuses of schemes for self-instruction, to the power he expects to derive from various kinds of knowledge. The English workman is constantly crying out "Union is strength," and he stakes all for "Union;" the German, whilst he adopts the same measure, adds that "Intellect is power," and he seeks to acquire for himself the strength which the Englishman throws into his corporate associations.

I fear that few of our English artisans fully appreciate, even now, the value of theoretical knowledge, that being really, in a multitude of instances, the only advantage, and perhaps a very slight one in degree, which their employers possess over them.

That the mental training of adults abroad is not a system of yesterday is obvious from the length of time some of their "Culture-Unions" —as for example, that at Elberfeld—have been in existence; and these have not alone trained the working man himself, but, by showing him his own defects, have made him all the more anxious that his children should be early reared in useful knowledge, for if there be one desire which the Almighty has interwoven more closely than any other in the nature of man, it is that his offspring should be less imperfect and more happy than himself. If one asks even a so-called atheist, what is the end and aim of his toil, he will tell you that he seeks to serve his posterity.

Whether this culture is the cause of their superior taste for art, and especially for music, I cannot say, but certain it is, that whilst a number of English workmen may be indulging in a "spree" in some public house, or at the best enjoying a cheap trip, without any other aim than to gratify their appetites, in Germany they will be singing glees and madrigals under cover, or parading the country lanes, and enlivening them with their song. It is by somewhat changing their pursuits and tastes in this respect, that the volunteer

movement has perhaps effected the greatest amount of good amongst our working men.

Our visit has shown us, too, that what we were in the habit of regarding as the bane in a workman's life abroad, namely, "Lager Beer," is at once the antidote; and that, in a general sense, beer means sobriety, whilst wine and spirits mean intoxication. Probably I may be told by temperance advocates (I don't mean total abstainers) that light beer will never suit the tastes of our working population; but that statement may be placed side by side with the proposition that English gentlemen will never drink light wines, and that it is a necessity of their nature to get drunk on "good old port." The experiment will soon be tried in beer, as it is being successfully carried out amongst the middle classes with claret. Tastes change, generally for the better.

On the Sunday question there are wide divergences of opinion, but I doubt whether there is to be found an Englishman, possessed of a moderate amount of common sense, no matter what his religious convictions may be, who would not gladly see the tea garden supplant the gin palace, and the song or band of music replace the public house orgies, even on Sunday. The time is not

far distant when this matter will occupy the attention, not alone of those foreigners and Englishmen who are "bored to death" by a British Sunday, but of all good and religious thinkers.*

Let it not be for a moment imagined that I would countenance such an employment of Sunday as excludes all devotional exercises in many continental cities; but as we have seen at Elberfeld, there is nothing in rational Sunday enjoyment incompatible with the practice of religion.

On the equally important question of the fusion of classes, there may be diversity of feeling, but there is no difference of opinion as to its advisability. The absurd extremes to which class distinctions are carried in England in all ranks of society are the subject of frequent comment abroad, and the miserable exclusiveness which causes each class to keep the one below it at arms' length, for fear of contamination, serves to perpetuate every vice or defect peculiar to each, and lays the foundations of prejudices and hatreds which are not easily removed. For this reason it was, as much as any other, that many

* The paper read by the reverend gentleman at the Church Congress at Liverpool confirms this view.

commoners looked anxiously for the continued obstinacy of the Lords during the recent Irish Church agitation, believing that it might lead to their downfall: a feeling which, as we have seen, was communicated to the democratic workmen of Switzerland. This cause, too, operates in favour of those selfish demagogues who pretend to be the friends of the working classes, and who tell them that hitherto they have been trodden down by supercilious and tyrannical employers, but that now their turn is come, and the masters shall bite the dust.

Amongst the operatives a better feeling is, however, already arising in this matter. A not unfrequent remark at Trade meetings is, "It is true the employers have never troubled themselves about our welfare; but are we not ourselves to a large extent to blame? Have we not regarded and treated them as our natural enemies, instead of trying to cultivate their friendship?" Instead of clamouring for his "rights" at the hands of others, the English artisan is beginning to consider whether he has been quite true to himself and whether he has always held up for example and imitation the higher life his class is capable of leading.

In regard to co-operation, a great movement is taking place in England. Employers are beginning to find that it is good policy to give their servants a small interest in their labour, over and above their daily wages. Many, indeed, there are, who are more anxious to seek reasons why such a course "would never do in *their* trade," than to find a means of carrying into practice what they always admit to be an admirable principle; but others are acting more wisely, and every day we hear more and more concerning "partnerships between capital and labour."

As to purely industrial partnerships, in which working men subscribe the capital themselves, they will not be so rapidly developed as it might be wished, for they necessitate experience, caution, business knowledge, strict sobriety, and courtesy in dealing with customers. I do not mean to say that artisans are incapable of acquiring and exercising all these virtues, for the undertakings of this kind in which I have myself taken an interest have satisfied me to the contrary; but a considerable time will elapse before the movement can become extended, and then the working men will have been made acquainted

with the difficulties employers have to contend with, and will not be so ready as they are at present to impute selfish motives to them. In regard to industrial partnerships, the Germans will, I think, keep ahead of us for some time, owing to the superior education of their artisans, but we shall not be far behind. Those who read the proceedings of the Co-operative Congress in London, will have observed that the establishment of "people's banks," such as those here described, was debated, and action will doubtless soon follow.* Industrial manufacturing concerns already exist on a large scale, and are likely to multiply. We have already numerous co-operative stores, and if good magazines, such as the Hall of Industry at Mayence, were established, I doubt not they would be well encouraged.

Thanks to the successful exertions of such

* The London Co-operative Congress of 1869, presided over successively by Mr. Thomas Hughes, M.P., Mr. Mundella, M.P., and others, passed resolutions, recommending Trades' Unions, directly and indirectly, to promote the establishment of co-operative societies in their respective trades; (2) in favour of co-operative stores employing wholesale agencies for the purchase of goods; (3) recommending the establishment of bazaars, magazines, &c. (similar to the one here described); and (4) a banking and credit association, resembling those promoted by Schulze-Delitsch abroad; and a committee of gentlemen, including three members of parliament, was appointed to carry out the resolutions.

gentlemen as Mr. Mundella, and thanks also to the moderate counsels of the leaders of well-managed trades unions, strikes are becoming unpopular, and arbitration will soon be the rule. In a modified form this mode of settling trade disputes has long been practised abroad, with very beneficial effect.

Another, and perhaps the most important action of all, which the working men are taking, is to remove from public houses, and conduct their business in suitable offices, and no greater service could be rendered to the operatives of this country, than that Parliament should introduce into the Trades Unions' Bill of next session a clause excluding from the privileges conferred by the Act all trade societies which meet for business purposes in places used for the sale of alcoholic liquors.

When they do leave their present meeting places, it is highly desirable that artisans should remove to quarters equally or more attractive, and less injurious than the public house, and that they should combine with their entertainments, facilities for acquiring the knowledge which is so necessary for their welfare. It was to aid them in the attainment of this object that I paid my

recent visit to the Continent, and with the same view I have here sketched in rude outline such institutions as seem to present features worthy of notice and imitation.

Comparative Statement of Wages, and Cost of Living for Artisans.

	In England.	In Elberfeld.	In Munich.	In Zurich.	In Glarus.	Remarks.
Average daily wages of a	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	
Mason	5 6	3 0	2 0	2 0	—	
Bricklayer	5 6	3 0	2 0	2 0	—	The working day abroad is 12 working hours; in England the average is 10½ hours.
Cabinet Maker	4 8	2 2	1 8	2 0	—	
Upholsterer	5 0	3 6	—	—	—	
Weaver	3 6	3 0	—	—	—	
Locksmith	4 8	—	2 1	—	—	
Spinner	4 0	2 10	—	2 0	2 0	At Glarus the spinners usually farm a little land and breed pigs.
Average cost of—						
Bread (usually eaten) per lb.	2d.	1d.	1d.	1½d.	2d.	In Switzerland education may be considered free, and the charge elsewhere is very trifling.
Meat „ „ per lb.	6d. to 9d.	6d.*	8d. to 9d.†	Beef, 6d. / Veal, 7½d.	6d.	
Good beer per quart	5d.	1d.	1d.	1d., or ½ pint of wine, 1½d.	1d.	
House-rent or lodgings, per week	5s. to 6s.	3s.	1s. 8d.	4s. 2d.	2s. 6d.	
Clothes, Sunday cloth suit	about £3	£1 1s.	£3	—	—	

* Eaten daily.

† Not eaten by poorer workmen, who eat sausages (Wurst).

APPENDIX.

SUMMARY and Abstracts from the Report of the French Government on Technical Education of Working Men abroad. Workmens' Associations in Berlin, Hanover, and elsewhere.

IN the preceding pages I have endeavoured to describe the Working Men's Institutes of Germany and Switzerland in such a manner as to please general readers of every class, but for the benefit of those who desire to be made acquainted with what is being done in those countries, in towns not visited by me, I propose to add, in a condensed form, the somewhat scanty information on this head which has been collected by the commission appointed by the French Government in 1863, and recently published in this country.* The first abstract I propose to give *verbatim* without holding myself in the least responsible for any of the views therein expressed.

* Commission on Technical Instruction appointed by Imperial Decree, 22nd June, 1863. Report on Technical Instruction in Germany and Switzerland, &c. Blue Book. The Queen's Printers, 1869.

Voluntary Associations of Workmen in Prussia.*

"Besides the schools and the special classes for the instruction of workmen, there have been founded in various parts of Germany, particularly in 1848, associations of working men of which the ostensible and hitherto real object, at least in appearance, is to supply the members with various means of increasing their knowledge, improving their position, and, in some instances, of rendering each other mutual aid. But in some countries, as Hanover and Prussia, for instance, these societies have not been content with remaining purely local, but have been affiliated to each other, and under pretext of meetings for instruction, some of them, from the very nature of the subjects treated by them, have become associations for the discussion, not of political matters as yet, but of questions relating to social organisation, which may tend to act injuriously to the working classes themselves. We have been present at the meetings of several societies of this kind, and though we neither saw nor heard anything blameworthy, we think some of them have a fault in their organisation which may

* Report, p. 13.

prove dangerous in times of disturbance. Thus, the Berlin Society, called the Handwerker-Verein, composed of 3000 members, presents at once an instance of the value of such associations, and of the necessity of exercising a vigilant control over their tendencies and over the questions treated by their professors.

"Every evening, from eight to ten, and on Sundays from eight in the morning till four in the afternoon, lessons are given in geometry, algebra, freehand drawing, designs for buildings and machinery, descriptive geometry, perspective, commercial accounts, stenography, calligraphy, the French and English languages, correspondence, and geography. To the courses of lessons, which are well attended, are added more general lectures, and during the months of January, February, and March, 1864, besides lectures on natural history, chemistry, technology, ornamentation, the use of tobacco, music, historical subjects were also treated, such as the life of Washington, Lessing, Ulrich von Hutten, Don Carlos, and political questions, which seem scarcely adapted for such an audience. Among these last we may mention, for the first quarter of 1864, the history of the diplomatic relations of different states, the present

situation of Russia, social economy, the constitution, the science of government, and a great many other matters more or less political. If subjects of this kind were treated injudiciously before the members of an association having a very characteristic flag ornamented with the well-known hand-in-hand symbol and representing a working man with bare arms giving one hand to a young soldier, the other to a citizen, it is easy to see that the result might be a moral agitation, not absolutely harmless in a city like Berlin.

"Lastly, we might add that, in spite of their abstention, compulsory for the present, from all political discussion, the reports and speeches delivered at the yearly meetings of the societies too plainly display the desire to treat of politics whenever a favourable occasion shall offer. This fact might easily be demonstrated by an examination of the report of the workmen's association of the Alexander Strasse, issued in June, 1863. But after pointing out the defects of some of these institutions, it is just to acknowledge that all these societies may contribute, and do really contribute, to advance the education of those among their members who have the will to study. Classes for drawing, arithmetic, the elements of

science, besides special lessons and discussions on the progress of science, arts, and manufactures, are the most frequent subjects of the meetings. The members have also the use of libraries where books can be read, and even, on certain conditions, borrowed for reading at home. Moreover, the habit of meeting and observing the rules of good conduct and of reciprocal attention and the presence of distinguished professors and of public officers, who show their liking and esteem for the working classes, and that consideration which ought always to be felt for the honest workman, and which is so flattering to him, cannot fail to inspire respect for themselves and for the law, and to train them in habits of order and moderation. In fact, it is not rare to see deposits in saving's banks increased, greater economy exercised, and more comfort developed by attending these meetings. Provided they avoid all affiliation of one another, and entrust the management of them to men known both for their devotedness to the working classes and for their sound political principles, such associations may be with benefit increased in number."

From this account of the Berlin Society, it will be seen that it partakes of the character of the

institutions described by me as existing in Elberfeld, Munich, and Zurich, and it may be of interest now to refer to those of Hanover, where, the Commissioners report, there were in 1862-3, 19 workmen's societies, nearly all composed of operatives.

The total number of their members was about 2376, with 210 honorary members. Their libraries contained 6,000 different works. In the city of Hanover there are three such societies. "The society of workmen is composed almost exclusively of workmen. The masters and foremen who have a great number of hands under them rarely attend these meetings. This society has 900 members in Hanover alone, and meets in premises hired for the purpose every evening from 7 to 10.30 o'clock; on Monday, from 4 to 10.30, and in the daytime on Sundays and holidays until 11 p.m."*

Its management resembles that of the institutions described by me. "It has also a literary committee, a committee of feasts, a victualling committee, who buy wholesale and sell retail to the members for ready money whatever provisions

* Report, p. 33.

they may want. There is also a committee of accounts, and of arbitration and law for defending the rights of the members. The subjects of the lectures and debates are determined by a committee of education, in which are a certain number of professors. The arbitration committee receives the complaints of members and endeavours to conciliate the parties." (This refers to disputes between the members themselves.) The library contains 2000 volumes. In every other respect the institution appears to resemble those described in the preceding pages, except that, amongst the subjects in which instruction is given, I find "cutting out coats," and "modelling and wood carving."

"The Hanover Society has a revenue of 1300 thalers" (about £195) "which is carefully administered by a special committee." "The present number of these workmen's societies is about 25 in the Kingdom of Hanover only; the members are estimated at 6000.*"

WORKMEN'S SOCIETIES (HANDWERKERVEREIN, ARBEITER-VEREIN) IN PRUSSIA.

On this head the report is very meagre, the

* Report, p. 34.

whole subject being dismissed in a few lines, and in a manner quite unworthy of its importance.*

A few paragraphs appear concerning the Workmen's Society in Baden, which seems to be unimportant, and to present no features worthy of comment.

The Munich Working Men's Society is not even mentioned.

The reader cannot fail to observe that in describing these societies, the reporters are always apprehensive of their revolutionary tendencies. It is impossible for an Englishman, accustomed to free discussion, to form a correct judgment as to how far such a fear is well grounded, and as to the wholesome effect or otherwise, which it may have on the minds of despotic rulers. But one thing is certain, namely, that in England, where a well balanced constitution is supported by a loyal people, the results of the combinations of working men for material and intellectual advancement cannot but be favourable to the welfare of the nation whose pre-eminence must in future be maintained by the temperance, intelligence, and material prosperity of the masses.

* Report, p. 60.

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